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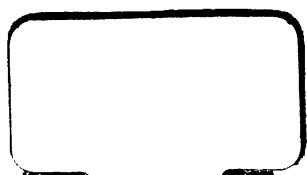
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LETTERS, &c.,
OF
EARLY FRIENDS;
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE
HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY,
FROM NEARLY ITS
ORIGIN, TO ABOUT THE PERIOD OF GEORGE FOX'S DECEASE;
WITH
DOCUMENTS RESPECTING
ITS EARLY DISCIPLINE,
ALSO
EPISTLES OF COUNSEL
AND
EXHORTATION, &c.

THE GREATER PORTION TAKEN FROM ORIGINAL OR ANCIENT
SOURCES, AND HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

"If it had not been the Lord, who was on our side, when men rose up
against us, then they had swallowed us up quick;—then the waters
had overwhelmed us, the stream had gone over our soul.—Our help
is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth."—PSALM
cxliv. 2, &c.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN presenting to the reader this volume of Letters and other Documents of our Early Friends, the greater part of which, it is believed, have never been in print, it may be proper for the Editor to state, that they are mostly taken from originals or ancient copies, contained in various collections, as well private, as those in the possession of the Society in London and in the country. The principal collection of manuscripts from which they have been selected, is that which is denominated by the Editor, the *Swarthmore Collection*: it formerly contained a very large number of original letters of the Early Friends, mostly addressed to Margaret Fell, before her marriage with George Fox in 1669, but some few subsequently, and others to George Fox himself. These manuscripts were probably kept together at Swarthmore Hall in Lancashire for many years, or at least till the decease of Margaret Fox in 1702; but in the course of the last century, the collection became divided,

and eventually a large portion of it was presented to the Society in London. The letters of this collection are mostly endorsed by George Fox (as any other mass of papers might be for convenience of reference,) with the name of the writer and the date; and occasionally a brief memorandum has been added by him, respecting the writer or the chief subject of the letter. They record the earliest Gospel services of Friends in various parts of this country and in foreign lands; and it is probable that they were referred to by George Fox, in the following passage of his will:—"All the *passages*, and travels, and sufferings of Friends, in the beginning of the spreading of the Truth, which I have kept together, will make a fine history; and they may be had at Swarthmore, with my other books: for it is a fine thing to know the beginning of the spreading of the Gospel, after so long a night of apostacy since the Apostles' days;—that now Christ reigns, as he did, in the hearts of his people;—glory to the Lord for ever! Amen."—(*Will, dated 8th month, 1688.*)

In the arrangement of this volume, the Editor has adopted the following divisions, under which it was found that the Letters and Documents might be suitably classed; viz. :—

PART I.—HISTORICAL,—OR LETTERS which illustrate the History of the Society of Friends, as

regards events, services, or sufferings, *in London*, and *in the Country*,—with some few relating to *Ireland*.

Part II.—DOCUMENTS illustrative of the EARLY DISCIPLINE and Testimonies of the Society.

Part III.—EPISTLES OF COUNSEL and Exhortation to the Churches, &c.

The Letters under the FIRST division of the work, and more especially those relating to London, the seat of government, will be often found to possess much interest, both as regards the history of our own Society, (in its earliest periods especially,) also the state of the religiously professing part of the community, and as regards the passing events of the day, so far as they concerned Friends. As these letters are of the character of private or intimate correspondence, due allowance should be made for the introduction of other matters, which may be deemed of trivial importance; yet with some readers, this description of familiar correspondence possesses attraction, from the vivid glimpses sometimes presented by a writer *on the spot* or at the time, of circumstances, and of character, not always noticed by the general historian. At the same time the remarks and peculiarities of style of writers in a distant period, will sometimes call for careful attention fully to appreciate them; as they may refer to events or circumstances deemed to be well known in their day, though at the first

not so obvious to us : also, expressions may be met with, peculiar to the times, which may seem somewhat strange to our modern ear.

The Editor has endeavoured to elucidate these Historical Letters by notes from other public sources;* also by occasional quotations from our own authors : but the reader will probably find much more in the early writers of the Society, to which he might refer with interest, in connexion with these letters, and *vice versâ* :—the order of dates in which they are placed, will facilitate such reference.

The reader, in passing through these Historical Letters, can scarcely regret more than the Editor has done, the want of similar correspondence, during some, and more especially the later periods embraced in this volume, and respecting remarkable events in our history of that time, which are not to be found alluded to in this collection. In setting on foot a search (however diligent and extensive) for ancient manuscripts in this day,—like casting a net into the sea of distant ages,—we must be content with what we may be able to bring up. Should, however, this publication remind Friends of any manuscripts of the kind, yet laying dormant in

* Those sources of information, viz., the public Histories, Memoirs, or Chronicles of that day, prove very scanty in notices respecting Friends :—as a body they seem in general to have been little understood or even regarded by the writers of those works ; who, more frequently than otherwise perhaps, introduce erroneous statements, or remarks founded on prejudice or ignorance respecting the Society.

their possession, a communication with the Editor thereon would be very acceptable.*

The Documents introduced under the SECOND division of the volume, respecting the EARLY DISCIPLINE of the Society, are both curious and valuable;—curious, as being nearly all of them of dates antecedent to the existing records of the established meetings of the Society in London;—and valuable, as setting forth the care and concern of our Early Friends, under the direction and help of the great Head of the church, in the first institution of our discipline; the principles and objects of which, continue to a great degree remarkably preserved to this day, for our edification and the christian welfare of the body.†

* *Fac-similes* of some of the signatures to the Letters are introduced; they may assist in identifying originals,—which when accomplished, is always satisfactory.

† From the great rarity of our *London* records previous to the year 1666, there is little doubt but that they were all destroyed by the great fire of London;—for “the great meeting house” at the Bull and Mouth, was burnt down at that time. Alexander Parker, in a letter to George Fox, dated London, 27th of 9th mo. 1676, (inserted at page 248 of this volume,) states:—“At Robert Dring’s, I inquired for Friends’ letters and papers, which were written in the beginning of the spreading of Truth; but I could find none,—they being burnt in the firing of London, as Dorothy did say.”

The accounts of Sufferings, commenced by Ellis Hokes, appear to be the earliest records relating to the Society at large, now preserved in London;—they go back as far as 1654. The minutes of a meeting called the Six Weeks’ Meeting, which is continued to this day,

THE EPISTLES OF COUNSEL, &c. in PART III., are not so numerous, perhaps, as might be desired ; for such was the diligence and the zeal of our forefathers, that they were not disposed to allow what appeared to them to have a service in it for the cause of Truth, to lie dormant : thus a very large portion of writings of this description were in that day published abroad, for the encouragement and consolation of the churches and of individuals. Here, therefore, the limits of search were rather restricted ; yet it is hoped, that some of these selected epistles (believed to be now for the first time printed,) will be truly acceptable to not a few readers in this day. The letters and epistles of Alexander Parker, have been more largely taken, as but few of the writings of that eminent Friend have come down to us in print.

The Editor, in conclusion, may observe, that he has abstained in general from giving his own reflections upon the remarkable events and circumstances affecting our Society, brought forward in these Letters ; being desirous that the mind of the reader should be left at liberty, to draw his own conclusions and reflections upon what is contained therein. The and has the care of the London meeting-house property, &c., commence in 1671 :—those of the Meeting for Sufferings in 1675, (5th month ;)—those of the Morning Meeting of Ministers and Elders, in the 7th month, 1673 :—those of the Yearly Meeting commence in 1672 ; and of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland, in 1671.

extraordinary patience of these our Early Friends, under the cruel sufferings to which they were subjected,—their exemplary faithfulness to the cause of Truth and righteousness,—and the earnestness they evinced by their repeated warnings to the rulers of this country, that the wrath of heaven might be averted from the nation, by their ceasing from such wicked acts of persecution and cruelty,—are remarkably displayed in the early history of our Society. “All the powers of the nation seemed banded together” to crush this people;—the legislature itself taking that object most resolutely in hand: but they were not permitted to prevail over them. How truly then might they reverently and gratefully adopt the language of Israel formerly;—“If it had not been the Lord, who was on our side, when men rose up against us; then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us: then the waters had overwhelmed us, the stream had gone over our soul:—Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth.—Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.” May it be the earnest concern of us, the too much degenerated successors (must it not be said) of these sons of the morning—these patient sufferers for the cause of Christ,—to walk also as good soldiers and faithful followers of the Captain of our salvation: then may we not humbly trust, that the Lord, in his abundant mercy, would show himself to be on our side

also;—would be our strength, help, refuge and glory, as He was theirs;—and there would be no lack to us of any good thing; neither would any thing be able to pluck us out of His preserving hand of power, or to separate us from His love in Christ Jesus our Lord.

A. R. BARCLAY.

*Leytonstone, near London,
11th month, 1840.*

EXPLANATIONS OF THE TEXT.

Words in the text, printed in *Italics*, (excepting in the case of titles of works, and of remarkable expressions, &c.) denote, that they are taken to be phrases, probably, then in common use, or peculiar to the times.

Large brackets, thus [], are used to denote introductory remarks or quotations by the Editor; smaller brackets, thus [], occurring in a letter or document, show the addition by him of words, in explanation of the text;—if followed by a (?), it implies uncertainty as to the correct deciphering of the original manuscript, or, as to the word or name added by the Editor, or, that there is presumptive evidence or probability for the same.

A long dash, implies an omission; a short one, (as now used,) a rest in punctuation, or to connect parts of long sentences, &c.

In using the phrase at the end of a letter, &c., [*From the original*], it is of course intended that the manuscript letter is pronounced to be such, on the usual presumptive evidence of comparison, or repeated view, of other letters of the same writer, also from other obvious marks of originality, as post marks, seals, &c.

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LETTERS, &c.
OF
EARLY FRIENDS.

PART I.
HISTORICAL,
CONCERNING EVENTS, SERVICES, &c.,
IN LONDON.

No. I.

[ALTHOUGH our early Friends had sprung up and were known as a distinct religious profession in some parts of the North of England, previous to the year 1654, it does not appear from our historians, that they had made much, if any, appearance in the metropolis, prior to that year. William Crouch, who resided in London at this period, informs us in his Memoirs, that "about the beginning of the year 1654, some workings of the power of Truth came to be felt amongst some tender people in and about the city of London; and some few were convinced, and turned to the Lord."

The following letter, dated the 29th of 11th Month, 1653, is the earliest which the Editor has met with, dated from London. The writer, Gervase Benson, as appears from George Fox's Journal, was once a colonel in the army, he was also a

justice of the peace; but in 1652, he was convinced at Lancaster, on the occasion of G. Fox's attending the sessions there, and clearing himself of the false accusations laid to his charge. (*See Journal under 1652.*) Gervase Benson, with Anthony Pearson (who also was a justice,) interested themselves on behalf of George Fox, when suffering imprisonment in the filthy gaol of Carlisle, in 1653. G. B. is also mentioned in G. Fox's Journal, as a visitor at Judge Fell's at Swarthmore. He died in 1679, as appears by the Westmoreland burial register of Friends, in which he is described to be 'of Kendal.']

GERVASE BENSON TO GEORGE FOX AND JAMES
NAYLER.

London, 29th of 9 bre [11th mo.] (53.)

TO MY DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD.

MY love in the Lord salutes you, and all Friends with you. [I am] by the love of God brought to this great city; and by his power am kept here to wait upon him, and to do whatsoever he shall call me forth unto; that he alone may be glorified in me and by me. Pray to the Lord for me, that I may be kept in all faithfulness; with boldness to bear witness to the Truth, against all deceits as they are made manifest in me, to the praise of his free grace and love to me, which I find daily flowing into my soul, to the refreshing thereof.

Dear Friends, I find nothing here that I can have any fellowship with: only the Lord is raising up a light in many, (both priests and people,) that discovers the carnal actings both of magistrates and

ministers so called; and they are carried forth publicly to declare against them. I was lately at a meeting with some of them, at which were some Parliament men, ministers, and others: but I was made to declare against their practices at such meetings, and to show them their meetings were not for the better, but for the worse;—they spending their time in putting questions one to another, and jangling about things they could not witness. After we parted, I had no freedom to go to any such meetings; but was made to write a few proposals to some members of Parliament, which by the goodness of the Lord were finished this morning: a copy of the heads of them I have enclosed, not having time to write over the whole at present.

As for the Friends' enlargement at Kendal, George Taylor, I hope, hath or will give you an account.

Seeing nothing at present to the contrary, but that I shall shortly see you in the country, I conclude.

Gervase Benson.

[P. S.] There are many hereaways inquiring after Friends in the North and the Truth made manifest in you, and much writing for and against the priests.

Written from London, 29th of 9 bre (53.) [Date corresponds with the 29th of 11th Mo. 1653.]*

Addressed "for my dear Friends,

"George Fox and James Nayler."

[*From the original apparently.*]

* The mode of reckoning the months according to the old style, is followed throughout all these Letters. On the alteration being made by Act of Parliament in 1752, the Society also adopted a change in the mode of reckoning the months, which is explained at large in the

No. II.

[WILLIAM CROUCH, after mentioning that about the beginning of the year 1654, some few tender people in and about the city of London were convinced, proceeds to inform us; “about this time, two women came out of the North to the city, viz. Isabel Buttery and her companion; who became acquainted with Amos Stodart, (sometime a captain in the Parliament army, but who, when convinced of Truth, left his command,) and Simon Dring of Moorfields. These women having an Epistle or Testimony given forth by George Fox, viz. the first inserted in the volume of his *Doctrinal Books*, directed ‘*To all that would know the Way to the Kingdom*,’ &c. and this Epistle or Testimony being printed, they delivered or dispersed [the same] abroad to such as would receive it.—These women had private meetings at Robert Dring’s house in Watling-street, and at Simon Dring’s in Moorfields; where they did now and then speak a few words.”—*W. Crouch’s Works*, p. 12, 13.

This quotation may serve as an introduction to the letter following; which, although subscribed with two names, is expressed as coming from one person, probably from the first named, Alexander

Book of Discipline, page 73. Every month, therefore, quoted in these Letters, is to be reckoned two months later, to make it correspond with our present mode of computation, as well as with the public style of naming the months. Thus, for example, in a subsequent letter, the 29th of 3rd Month 1660, is mentioned as the day of King Charles’s return to London, which corresponds with the 29th of 5th month by our present reckoning and the 29th of May by the public style; and vice versa

Delamain, for the sheet is endorsed (in George Fox's handwriting) "*A. delamane 1654.*" The letter is much tattered, and is thus addressed :]

TO MY DEAR FRIEND THOMAS WILLAN, OF
KENDAL, WESTMORELAND.

London, 27th of 4th Month [6th Mo.] 1654.

DEAR FRIEND,

I RECEIVED thy letter. The expectations of our Friends here (who are faithful,) have been and are very great, to have seen some Friends out of the North to come to abide here ; and they are daily looking for some one or other, though we bless the Lord we do not so much look upon any creature : but where there is but childishness, there can be nothing but stammerings. The Lord still continues with us two of his handmaids, who are moved to speak sometimes ; who, aiming at their souls' good, are often evilly entreated by them [the people ;] but they are supported by the Lord, which makes them courageous among ravenous wolves. Others, whose hearts are not so flinty, do embrace the Truth in the love of it ; so that our number increases. The harvest is great, the labourers few : if it be the Lord's will to send labourers, we know they must come, and none can hinder.

Our present condition and temptations are exceeding strange and great, which require the more strict watching, and your continually praying to the Lord for us. Sometimes the Lord moves us to speak to those that are over us in the flesh ; and though we have been as the aspen leaves, trembling at the wind before them, yet praises be to the Lord,

he gives us hearts as bold as a lion. As it hath pleased the Lord to draw us from the wicked delusions of the priests, so likewise from those heathenish forms, which were and are still used in the families where we live. And though to the grief of our souls, we cannot as yet live up in such a way as the Lord requires, yet we are endeavouring and struggling to get mastery over the deceit that hath so long reigned in us.

The 17th day of this Month, my master in the flesh would know of me the reason why I absented myself from his holy duties, as he calls them. I told him, that I had heard him in his prayers bless the Lord for his vocation, election, redemption, and sanctification; but that he did not live up to such a life, as those whom Christ hath redeemed; neither was the Truth, as it is in Jesus, in him; and that the prayers of the wicked are an abomination before the Lord; and he that regards iniquity in his heart, the Lord will not hear his prayers. When I had spoken these words to him, his face waxed pale, and he immediately burst forth in a passion, uttering these words to me:—‘Thou wretch, thou makes me tremble—thou wicked wretch—thou rogue;’ and so flying at me with his bended fists, he smites me on the face and eyes, very often as hard as he could strike. I not stirring hand or foot, immediately remembered the command, “If thou art smitten on the one cheek, turn the other,”—so I was made to do. When he had so done, I asked him whether what he had done, were of God; his answer was, No. So presently he commanded me to write down under my hand what I had spoken, which I did, being scarce able to see what I wrote for the blows he had given me. But I was made to write

that which to him seemed an aggravation to what I had spoken. As soon as I had so done, in comes a priest, whom my master took presently to hear this business, and to read my writing. As soon as he had read it, saith he, 'This assertion is very dubious, and I might draw from hence divers questions;' and thus he began, 'Do you hold perfection?' 'Yes;—dost thou deny it?' Priest, 'Yes.' 'Then,' said I, 'thou art no minister of God.' It would be too tedious and too large to declare to you the whole discourse between him and me; for the promise of the Lord was made good to me at that very instant of time; it was not I that spoke, but the Spirit of God, who was my teacher and my remembrancer. And I declared many things to his face, how that he was no minister of God, one who was conforming to the world in his fashions [(?) *word not clear*] and customs: another was, that he was a hireling, and much more which I have not time to declare now. — [*torn.*] came in another manner;—the 19th day, my master came alluring me, and crying with tears running from a broken cistern. On the 23rd day, he sent me to one, to whom he had spoken to confer with me, with whom I was most part of that day; and [my master] did tell him, that if he could not draw me from my delusions and errors, that he would have me before the Chamberlain of London, and there my indentures should be burnt or torn; and I, for the scandal cast upon him under my hand, to be sent to the House of Correction, and to lose the freedom of the City of London.—Lose my name and credit!—poor, empty, base, beggarly things, which are not worth my thought: if it were to lose ten thousand freedoms, I would lose them willingly

upon this account; and for witnessing the Truth—welcome House of Correction, or any punishment!—and for Christ—farewell name, credit and reputation!

He [his master] hath drawn up a charge of five particulars against me:—

1st. That I had slanderously accused him by word of mouth, [*as stated above.*]

2nd. That I frequented a meeting in Moorfields, where there is none but two women that are preachers.

3rd. That I will not join with him in family duties, viz. sometimes twice a-day prayer; and every Lord's day two prayers, a chapter or a Psalm, and commonly one sung; and the like singing and prayer at night.

4th. That when customers come for goods, my not speaking to them, as to tell them of what they ask me, or bidding them welcome &c., I have driven away his customers.

5th. Being asked by him whether I would refer the controversy to be ended by the ministers of God, I told him that I would; but I thought I could not find any of them in [London, *perhaps, —part torn.*]

These are the five things, which he, poor soul, thinks to affright me withal.

The last First day, Isabel * (who hath been a long season with us, I know not whether she is known to you, but she is well known to James Nayler and Gervase Benson and other Friends who were lately in London,) was moved to go to Westminster, to some to whom her heart was drawn

* Isabel Buttery, doubtless.

forth ; intending to make no stay, if the Lord would, but to come to our meeting at Simon Dring's house in Watling-street.* But as she came back by Paul's, the Mayor caused the marshal so called, to bring her before him ; and her spirit was carried out valiantly : they went together into the vestry, there she (as we were informed) was [*word not clear*] in discourse with him, the Aldermen and Recorder so called. So they sent her to the House of Correction called Bridewell, and another maid that went with her, which was Robert Dring's maid of Moorfields. I went to see them, with more of our Friends, the last night ; but there was no admittance, their Pharisaical spirit would not suffer such things on their Sabbath day. They were committed for letting people have their books, which our Friends have been moved to publish. Isabel bid me inform our Friends, that there are some books to be sent down : '*The way to the Kingdom,*' with an addition to it, is come forth. Send by the next post where they shall be sent to, and by whom and to whom.

Now, dear Friend, I have in as brief a way as I could, [informed] thee and the rest of my Friends, as our dear Friends F. Howgill and J. Camm ; desiring that — your petitions may be spread before the Lord, that we might be kept faithful to the end ; for [such, there is (?)] laid up a crown of

* Gilbert Latey states, that *Simon Dring* was one of those who first offered up their houses 'to have meetings therein for the service of the Lord,' and that he 'then lived in Watling-street ; but some time after, he removed into Moor-fields, where he continued to have a meeting in his house.'

life. Salute us to all our dear brethren : farewell,
the eternal God of power [preserve you (?)]

Alexander Delamain.

John Bridges.

*27th of the 4th Month, as the
world accompts, 1654.*

No. III.

[THE writer of this next letter is thus spoken of by George Fox in his Journal: (*early in 1653.*) "About this time, Anthony Pearson was convinced, who had been an opposer of Friends. He came over to Swarthmore; and I being then at Colonel West's, they sent for me. Colonel West said, 'Go George, for it may be of great service to the man.' So I went, and the Lord's power reached him. He was a justice of the peace in three counties."*]

* The following highly interesting letter from Anthony Pearson, has been met with in the Swarthmore collection; it is headed 'A paper of Anthony Pearson,' [G. F.'s superscription apparently,] and it is dated from *Rampshaw, near West Auckland, May 9th, 1653.* It does not appear to whom it was addressed.

DEAR FRIEND,

I have long professed to serve and worship the true God, and as I thought (above many sects) attained to a high pitch in religion; but now, alas! I find my work will not abide the fire. My notions were swelling vanities without power or life: what it was to love enemies, to bless them that curse, to render good for evil, to use the world as using it not, to lay down life for the

ANTHONY PEARSON TO GEORGE FOX.

30th of 5th Month [7th mo.] 1654.

MOST DEARLY BELOVED.

THE last night but one, I came to my dwelling at [*name not clear.*] I left Francis Howgill and

brethren, I never understood; what purity and perfection meant, I never tasted: all my religion was but the hearing of the ear, the believing and talking of a God and Christ in heaven or a place at a distance, I knew not where. Oh! how gracious was the Lord to me in carrying me to Judge Fell's, to see the wonders of His power and wisdom,—a family walking in the fear of the Lord, conversing daily with Him, crucified to the world, and living only to God. I was so confounded, all my knowledge and wisdom became folly; my mouth was stopped, my conscience convinced, and the secrets of my heart were made manifest, and that Lord was discovered to be near, whom I ignorantly worshipped. I could have talked of Christ in the saints the hope of glory, but it was a riddle to me. And truly, dear Friend, I must tell thee I have now lost all my religion, and am in such distress I have no hope nor foundation left. My justification and assurance have forsaken me, and I am even like a poor shattered vessel, tossed to and fro, without a pilot or rudder; as blind, dead, and helpless, as thou canst imagine. I never felt corruption so strong, and temptation so prevailing, as now; I have a proud, hard, flinty heart, that cannot be sensible of my misery. When I deeply consider how much precious time I have wasted, and how unprofitably I have lived, my spirit feels a sudden fear; but then I am still flying to my old refuge, and there my thoughts are diverted. What it means to wait upon God, I cannot apprehend; and the confusions in my own spirit, together with the continual temptations from without, are so great, I cannot understand or perceive the small still voice of the Lord.

What thou told me of George Fox, I found true: when thou seest him or James Nayler, (they both know my condition better than myself,) move them (if neither

Edward Burrough, John Camm and Richard Hubberthorne in London, the second day of last week. At London, we found very many who have a true principle of honesty in them; but they are for the most part so high flown in wisdom and notions, that it is hard to reach them: nothing can enter till their wisdom be confounded; and if they be judged, then presently they rage, and their wrath is stirred up, and so the simplicity is trampled

of them be drawn this way,) to help me with their counsel by letter; they are full of pity and compassion; and though I was their enemy, they are my friends: and so is Francis Howgill, from whom I received a letter full of tenderness and wholesome advice. Oh! how welcome would the faces of any of them be to me; truly I think I could scorn the world, to have fellowship with them. But I find my heart is full of deceit, and I exceedingly fear to be beguiled, (as I have been,) and to be seduced into a form without power, into a profession before I possess the Truth; which will multiply my misery, and deprive me both of God and the world.

Dear Friend, there is a carrier comes from Kendal within a mile of my house every fortnight, and he shall call at Peter Huggin's to bring any letter that shall be there left for me; it will much refresh me to receive any lines from thee;—but be thou faithful. Thou mayst perceive, by my Ashdod language, what countryman I am—even of the low world that lives in darkness. I am afraid lest the orders we made at Appleby,* cause some to suffer, who speak from the mouth of the Lord; I heartily wish they were suppressed or recalled. I have seen at Judge Fell's, and have been informed from that precious soul his consort, in some measure what those things mean, which before I counted the overflowings of giddy brains. Dear heart, pity and pray for me; and let all obligations of former friendship be discharged in well wishes to the soul of the old family friend, that he may partake with them of your heavenly possessions.

A. PEARSON.

Ramshaw, near West Auckland, May 9th, 1653.

* Perhaps, as Magistrates.

upon. Much wisdom is to be used amongst them, until the truth be clearly understood; and then to speak to that in their consciences, to the raising up of the witness, to let them see themselves; and then to pass judgment upon them, and so to keep them under from disputing and questioning. This we found the most profitable ministry; and few words must be used: for they have [held] the Truth in notions; and all cry out, 'What do these men say, more than others have said:' but to bring them to silence confounds their wisdom.

Oh! that none might come to London, but those who are raised up into the life of Truth, who dwell in the living power of God, whose words may have authority: for there are so many mighty in wisdom to oppose and gainsay, that weak ones will suffer the Truth to be trampled on; and there are so many rude savage apprentices and young people and Ranters, that nothing but the power of the Lord can chain them. Dear heart, let none go to London, but in the clear and pure movings of the Spirit of Life; that the blessing may rest upon them. And great is the harvest like to be in that city; hundreds are convinced, and thousands wait to see the issue, who have persuasions that it is the Truth. Very many societies we have visited, and are now able to stand: many honest hearts are among the Waiters, and some that are joined to the Ranters are *pretty* people.* The living power

* In a letter from E. Burrough to Margaret Fell, (date of 1654) he thus writes:—

'We were at a meeting of the people called Waiters [in London,] where R. Hubberthorne spoke about half an hour in much power and wisdom.—Francis [Howgill] was moved to go to an assembly of people called Seekers; and they were, as all this generation

of God was made manifest to the confounding of all, and we were carried above ourselves, to the astonishment both of ourselves and others: we were made to speak tremblingly amongst them in dread and much fear.

When I can hear where thou art, I must come to thee. Dear heart, pray for me and all with me, that we may be kept in the fear of the Lord, to the praise of his great name.

The bearer hastens me, and I can now write no more, only my wife's and family's love to all Friends.

Anthony Pearson.

[*From a copy.*]

No. IV.

[THE next letter to be laid before the reader is from Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill; respecting whom William Crouch writes: 'In the 5th month of this year (1654) it pleased God to send two of his faithful messengers and able ministers to the city of London, viz.—Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, who were the first that declared Truth publicly there; whom He made instruments in his hands for the gathering of many, who, like good old Simeon, were waiting

practises, jangling and contending about the meaning of the Scriptures; and he stood silent among them a little, and then spoke the word of the Lord in power with boldness, an hour or more, and confounded their wisdom, and crushed their meaning of the Scripture: he said, there were some *pretty* people amongst them.'—(*W. Caton's MS. Collection.*)

for the consolation of Israel.' The letter is very descriptive of the state of things among professors at this period; and the account it gives of the services of those valiant labourers in the gospel of Christ in this great city, is very interesting.]

EDWARD BURROUGH AND FRANCIS HOWGILL TO
MARGARET FELL.

London, 29th of 6th Month [8th mo.] 1654.

DEAR SISTER,

—GREAT is our care and charge which is committed unto us; pray that we may be kept in faithfulness and boldness in the work of the Lord committed to us, and that wisdom may guide us to handle the sword; that we may clearly discern what to spare and what to destroy. Great is our travail, till Christ be brought forth in this people; and our suffering is even with and for the pure seed, which lies in bondage in this city.—We two are constrained to stay in this city; but we are not alone, for the power of our Father is with us, and it is daily made manifest through weakness, even to the stopping of the mouths of lions, and to the confounding of the serpent's wisdom;—eternal praises to Him for evermore!

In this city iniquity is grown to the height,—the serpent's wisdom is grown fully ripe;—here are the subtlest serpents to grapple with and war withal: but in the eternal light (which is our shield and buckler,) are they comprehended, and their deceits made manifest to us, and by the light are they judged and condemned.

—We have three meetings or more every week, very large, more than any place will contain, and which we can conveniently meet in. Many of all sorts come to us, and many of all sects are convinced,—yea, hundreds do believe; and by the power of the gospel declared amongst them is the witness of God raised, which shall never die. There are some brought under the power exceedingly, which strikes terror in the hearts of many; and many lie under true judgment, and a true love is raised up in many, and the time of redemption to many is drawing nigh.—As yet we know little of our departing from hence: to all do we and shall we clear our consciences, and be free from the blood of all men, and finish our testimony. Many begin to consider of us, and think there is something more in it than a bare notion; at the first, they looked upon it to be no more: but it sinks deep inward in many; for to *that* we speak, which brings us in remembrance when they see us not.*

The last First day but one, I was at a steeple

* Gough, in his *History*, after alluding to the visit of E. Burrough and F. Howgill to London at this time, remarks:—‘Their ministerial labours were blessed with signal success; being attended with a convincing power, impressing awful considerations, and awakening the consciences of the audience to a sense of their conditions and earnest desires after salvation.’ It should be borne in mind at the same time, that this was a period remarkable for the zealous maintenance of religious *profession* in the community generally; and probably the language of Scripture was pretty familiar to professors at large. Gough continues,—(after stating that E. B. and F. H. proceeded to Bristol,)—‘Their preaching was like that of the apostles, in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power; multitudes flocked to hear them, and many embraced their doctrines.’—*Gough’s History*, vol. i. p. 143.

house in the forenoon, and had liberty to speak what I was free, and passed away to the meeting in the afternoon. Last First day, R. Hubberthorne and I went twelve miles out of the city to a great meeting of Separatists, to a place called Tibbells, [Theobald's,*] where many great men were, and officers in the army, and such like; and we had *pretty* liberty to let forth ourselves; but at the end the heads of them put us violently forth, which many simple minds owned not in them. The Fourth day of last week, we had a meeting in Southerick, [Southwark,] in a large room, where some Anabaptists meet on the First days; several of them were there, and many hundred people. —

Our dear brethren John Audland and John Camm, went from us the last Sixth day out of this city towards Oxford, to be there the last First day; our hearts were broken in separating one from another, for our lives are bound up in one, and we partake of one another's sufferings, and of one another's joy. We receive letters every week from the prisoners at Chester: the work of the Lord goes on gloriously in that county, there is precious seed; and Anthony Pearson writes to us of the like in the county of Bishoprick, [Durham;] it is even our reward to hear that the Lord is raising that up in power, which was sown in weakness: to the Lord of glory, be glory for evermore!

Remember us dearly to all Friends, for we are re-

* G. Fox speaks of this place not far from Waltham Abbey, 'near which Colonel Packer lived. He set up a great meeting of the Baptists at Theobald's Park; for he and some other officers had purchased it. They were exceedingly high, and railed against Friends and Truth,' &c.—*See the Journal under 1654.*

freshed in the remembrance of you. Our chiefest care is, that we may be preserved in obedience, in power, and in wisdom ; that the Lord may be glorified by us. We rest from writing, but continue to be thy dearly beloved brethren in the Lord.

E. B. F. H.

[*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.**]

No. V.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO ROBERT WIDDERS.

London, 23rd of 7th Month. (9th Mo.) [1654.]

DEAR BROTHER,

E. B. [EDWARD Burrough] and I stay still in this city :—large is the love of God to us, and the work of the Lord prospers in our hands ;—eternal living praises [to Him] for evermore. We are here among this great people in much weak-

* This valuable collection of early Letters, written nearly throughout by W. Caton himself, appears to have been intended by him for publication ; it has a title page, dated Swarthmore, 23rd of Sixth month, 1659 ; and a preface signed by himself, dated 7th of second month, 1660 ; a fac-simile of his signature to it is here subjoined.

William Caton,

ness; and when we see such multitudes, we are often put to a stand where one might get bread to satisfy so many. But the wisdom and power of God hath been with us, and there are hundreds convinced; but not many great or noble do receive our testimony: yet there are many put to a stand and brought into silence, and many are under deep judgment and a true power. We have had many great giants to encounter with; but by the power of the Lord the mouths of lions have been stopped, and our adversaries have been put to flight. We have been in great service continually, since we came into this filthy place: here is the trimmed harlot, the mystery of witchcraft: and the devil rules, and is head in all sorts.

We have been at the most eminent societies in the city, and we have had strong fightings with them over and over, and at some steeple-houses; and, but that they have our persons in contempt, they say none speak like us:—but the devil cannot stoop so low. We have two or three meetings in the week, but no place large enough; so that we are much put to it. And we have been guided in much wisdom, so that all them that hate us have nothing to accuse us of, as of tumults or disorder in the least: some wait to entrap us, but in wisdom we are guided; praised be the Lord!

Miles Halhead, and James Lancaster were here, and came to visit us; they stayed one First-day, and so were moved towards Cambridge. We are much refreshed; we receive letters from all quarters;—the work goes on fast every where;—eternal living praises to Him for ever!—Richard Hubberthorne is yet in prison [— *two small abbreviations, not intelligible,*] and James Parnell is at

Cambridge.* Our dear brethren John Audland and John Camm we hear [from,] and we write to one another twice in the week ;—they are near us, —they are precious ; and the work of the Lord is great about Bristol. I have sent enclosed this letter, that thou may know of the *passages*,† and rejoice with us. Truly our horn is exalted, and our weapons are mighty, to the bringing down of strong-holds,—praises for evermore !

Pray for us, dear brother, that we may be kept in wisdom and power ; that the living God may be exalted for evermore. My dear yoke-fellow salutes thee : salute us to all Friends, to thy dear wife, and all that way who inquire of us.

Thy dear friend in the work of the Lord,

Francis Howgill.

[From the original : the year is endorsed by
G. Fox—1654.]

No. VI.

[RESPECTING the writer of this next letter, John Whiting in his *Memoirs* informs us ;—‘ Alexander

* In a letter from R. Hubberthorne to Francis Howgill, dated from Cambridge, 4th of Seventh month, 1654, he writes, ‘ James Parnell and I are in the dungeon as yet, where we were put the 28th of this last month ; but we [feel] the mighty power of God, and are in joy and peace in the Lord : to Him be praise eternal for evermore.’

† The word ‘ *passages* ’ often occurs in these early Letters, and has been explained in the last volume, (Life of Caton, &c., p. 130,) as meaning gospel services, travels, &c.

Parker was an ancient and eminent servant of God, and minister of Jesus Christ ; he was born in Yorkshire, near Bolton in Lancashire, and was well educated, and had a gentleman-like carriage and deportment as well as person, for I knew him well. He came up to London with George Fox, when he was brought up out of Leicestershire by Colonel Hacker to Oliver Cromwell, in 1654 ; he stayed with him in London and thereabouts for some time ; and afterwards went with him to a general meeting at John Crook's in Bedfordshire, in 1655. He wrote many serviceable books and epistles to Friends, which are worthy of perusing ; in which, though being dead, he yet speaketh.'—*J. W.'s Memoirs*, p. 390—393.]

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 22nd of 12th mo. 54.
[2nd mo. 1655.]

DEAR SISTER,

UPON the 4th day of the 12th mo. George Fox was at a meeting at Swannington ; and there came several soldiers from Leicester, but they were very civil and moderate, and heard with patience the word of the Lord, and went peaceably away. The same day Thomas Taylor and I were at Litchfield, and had a meeting there ; when many people of all sorts came to the meeting.—On the Fourth day of the week we came to George at Swannington ; and he was moved to appoint a meeting at Whetstone, and none being there to pass along with him, I went with him.—On the First day, many Friends were come together from several parts, and were waiting upon the Lord, when there came the marshal and

about eight soldiers into the meeting; and many of them sat down, and were very civil. And after a certain while, the marshal spoke, and showed an order from Colonel Hacker, that every one should go to their outward habitations, otherwise to pass along with him to the Colonel. And so he began and examined Friends where their outward abode was; and some he asked when they would return back. As for George his countryman,—let any two go along with him, and satisfy the Colonel for the rest. Then the marshal did entreat George to take his horse and go along with them.—Then said George, ‘if thou dost command me to go, I shall not resist:’—So they [went,] and I had not freedom to leave George. [They were then introduced to Colonel Hacker.]—and the Colonel spoke to him of many things. [He was then searched, and finally was informed, he must go to London.]—One Captain Drury, one of the Protector’s life-guard passed up, and we went along with him.—

[After stating that they lodged at the Mermaid Inn, Charing Cross, the letter proceeds.] Then the Captain went to the Protector, and acquainted him of [their arrival;] so the Protector said, he should see him,—and would speak with George; but when, he could not tell. The Captain is very loving, and would not hinder George of any freedom; only desired, that one of us would stay at the Inn. On the Fourth day, George went up into the city with some of our Friends.—On First day afternoon, William Caton and I were at a meeting in Moorfields, where many Friends were: a mighty power there is amongst them, and many tender hearts there are among them. On the Fourth day in the evening, there was a meeting appointed at Gerard

Robert's, where there was a very large meeting of Friends; George was present amongst them: the powerful presence of the Lord was with us, and the tender plants were refreshed, and some were made to witness to the Truth.

Thy dear Brother, &c.

Alex. Parker.

[From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.]

No. VII.

[THE next letter follows up the narrative of G. Fox's being taken before the Protector. In his journal, G. F. gives a full and interesting account of this interview with Oliver Cromwell at Whitehall: it was on this occasion that a paper was addressed by G. F. to the Protector, in which he denied 'the taking up a carnal weapon against him or any man,' &c. After this interview the Protector declared 'he was at liberty, and might go where he would.'*]

* This circumstance respecting G. Fox being brought up before the Protector, is spoken of in these terms in the News-books of the day:

'We have information of divers Quakers, who have of late been roving about the country in Leicestershire, and have had many meetings there, but were dispersed by some of our horse, and some of them taken into custody; amongst the rest, one Foxe, a chief Quaker, who was this day brought to Whitehall, and had divers followers.—(*The Perfect Diurnal*, Feb. 19th, 1655.)

'Munday, 26th February, 1655. This afternoon Foxe the great Quaker, who is said to be one of the chief

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 10th of 1st mo. [3rd mo. 1655.]

MOST DEARLY BELOVED,

OUR dearly beloved one G. F. is set free by Oliver Cromwell to go whither he pleaseth : he was never under any restraint, but had liberty to pass among Friends. On the 6th day of this instant, he was brought before the Protector, and was with him a pretty while in his chamber at Westminster : he was very loving to him, and wished him to come again to him ; and afterwards set him free to go whither he pleased.

So we are yet in this city, and for a while continue in it : there are many Friends come up, as Francis

amongst them, was at Whitehall : he came out of Leicestershire, : some say he was sent up from thence ; divers Quakers were at Whitehall following him.' It appears from this account that the Friends 'stayed some hours at Whitehall' on this occasion.—(*Tracts, King's Library, Brit. Museum.*)

On glancing over the reports of the transactions of Cromwell's Council about the beginning of this year, when G. Fox was arrested by Colonel Hacker, it appears that many persons of various stations in life, were reported to the Council as either suspicious, or as directly implicated in plots for bringing in 'Charles Stuart' and subverting Cromwell's government : many of these persons were brought up and examined before the Protector and his Council at Whitehall, during the first two or three months of this year ; and several were convicted and punished. These circumstances, doubtless, tended to spread suspicions far and wide ; and probably afforded employment for the officious partizan to show his zeal in the discovery of suspected persons, of whatever character and station they might be.

Howgill and E. Burrough, Thomas Salthouse, Miles Halhead, William Caton, John Stubbs, and several others; but I believe we shall disperse abroad after to-morrow. We do not want for anything; here are many precious Friends in the city, who would do any thing for us, or let us have anything; but George is not very free, but rather keeps clear. Our horses are at the Inn where we lay; but so many coming to see George, they [the people of the Inn] grow weary, and wish us to take another place; only the horses might be *free* [left.]

So at present I cease; with my tender love unto thee and thy family.

I am thine, &c.

A. Parker.

[*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*]

No. VIII.

EDWARD BURROUGH AND F. HOWGILL TO
MARGARET FELL.

London, 27th of 1st mo. [3rd mo.] 1655.

DEAR Sister, who art a fruitful branch in the living vine, and a pleasant plant in the garden of God.*

* It is remarkable with what high esteem and christian love, Margaret Fell appears to have been regarded by our early and most eminent Friends; she seems to have been generally acknowledged as the faithful nursing-mother of the flock; and she often addressed

We have been in this city near three weeks in great labour and service. G., [G. Fox,] with many more of our brethren, was here when we came. We all staid over one First day, after we two came into the city. G. was that day in private with Friends; and we two were in the general meeting place among the rude world, threshing and ploughing:—and the rest of our brethren were that day at several meetings, some at one and some at another, and some among the Baptists and gathered people; and great service there was that day. Then shortly after that First day, the brethren separated into the fields [the country,] to reap and to gather in. Richard Cleaton and Thomas Bond went towards Norwich and into Suffolk and that way, and are in great service there. John Stubbs and William Caton went towards Dover. We have received one letter from them since they went into Dover: the mayor and the officers strictly examined and charged them to keep the peace: they were with some gathered people, and at some steeple houses, and had little persecution. Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse went towards Plymouth: they had a great meeting one First day in Reading; and many, they wrote, were convinced. G. F. is at present in Bedfordshire; Alexander Parker is with him: there is a people that way. John Audland was here with us, but goes toward Bristol shortly, for ought we know. James Lancaster was with us in this city, but is gone to George. R. Hubberthorne is yet in prison. John Camm is at or near Bristol. We believe that G. will return to this city again,—we

them when in bonds or otherwise, with letters of consolation and encouragement: it is also probable she contributed largely to the relief of their outward necessities.

two are too few in this city for this service, for truly it is very great ; at present many come in daily to the acknowledgment of the Truth. Friends are so many, that not one place can hold them on the First days, where we can peaceably meet for the rude people ; for since we came, they have been very rude,—very oft to pull us down when we have been speaking. G. was at the great meeting place two First days before we came ; and his voice and outward man was almost spent amongst them.

We have thus ordered it since we came,—we get Friends on the First days to meet together in several places out of the rude multitude, &c. ; and we two go to the great meeting place which we have, which will hold a thousand people, which is always nearly filled, [there] to thresh among the world ; and we stay till twelve or one o'clock, and then pass away, the one to one place and the other to another place, where Friends are met in private ; and stay till four or five o'clock.*

Truly, dear heart, our care is for the whole body, that all things may be ordered in the wisdom of God, to the confounding of all our adversaries, who seek for our halting.

We rest in the bosom of love with thee, and are thy dear brothers,

E. B. F. H.

* It seems they had so much work with the multitude, that they could with difficulty get together with their own body : one letter from F. Howgill, dated London, 2nd of 8 mo., 1654, states, 'our burthen is great, we cannot get any separation for the multitude, and so Friends do not much know one another : and we cannot conveniently get any place to meet in, that Friends may sit down.'

Thomas Aldam hath been with Oliver Cromwell, and cleared his conscience to him; and was made as a sign to him in rending a linen cap, with which he went to him, on his head, and told him all his covering and counsels should be rent in pieces; but his heart is hardened, and he cannot believe.

[From *W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*]

No. IX.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 3rd of 2nd Month [4th Mo.] 1655.

DEAR SISTER,

MY tender and dear love in the Lord Jesus Christ, salutes thee and other my dear and precious friends in thy family. Grace, mercy, and peace, be multiplied among you, from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

Upon the 16th day of the 1st month, George and I, and some other city Friends, passed out of this city to Justice Crook's house, in Bedfordshire: he is a *pretty* man, and there will be a precious family; his wife is brought very low, and is of a very tender heart,—and others in his family. Upon the 18th day, being First day, there was a meeting at the justice's house, where there were many people, and

all sober and quiet.* — George stayed at Justice Crook's house, and we were there about fifteen days; I and others had many meetings in the country thereabouts: John Audland was there, and James Lancaster, Gerv. Benson, Thomas Story, Thomas Stubbs, and some others: we were in great service while we stayed there. A great ferment [*word indistinct* (?)] is in that country and other places thereabouts.

Upon the last day of the First month, George and G. Benson, and I came to this city: we had five meetings, three of Friends that met in silence, and George was at one of them, where many of the world came in, but were sober. Francis and Edward [Howgill and Burroughs,] were at the great meeting place, where many came to hear. Gerv. Benson and I were at a meeting beyond Westminster, where there are many convinced: in the forenoon having such short notice, there were not many; but in the afternoon there came very many, and they were sober quiet people. — George Whitehead is again

* George Fox, speaking of this meeting at John Crook's, says—'It was a great meeting, and people were generally convinced of the Lord's truth. When I was come thither, J. Crook told me, that the next day several of those that were called gentlemen of the county, would come to dine with him, and to discourse with me. They came, and I declared to them God's eternal truth. John Crook was kept by the power of the Lord; yet he was turned out from being a justice.'—*Journal*, 1654-5.

John Crook lived to an advanced age; our Hertfordshire Register records his decease as follows:—

"John Crook, an ancient and honourable Friend and Elder, a minister of the Gospel about forty-four years, died at Hertford the 26th of the 2nd month, 1699, and was buried at Sewell the 30th of the same, aged near 82 years."

imprisoned, for coming to the grate to visit Friends. John Stubbs and William Caton, have been three times carried before the mayor at Dover, but are yet at liberty as far as I know.

Thy dear brother, &c.,
Alex. Parker.

[*From the original.*]

No. X.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 10th of 3rd Month, [5th Mo.] 1655.

—DEAR SISTER,

OUR dearly beloved G. F. is yet in this city, and I know little at present of his removing. The work is great, and many are daily convinced: we have seven or eight meetings every First-day, and all are pretty quiet. Francis and Edward had a great dispute with the chief of the Baptists on the Third day of this week; and on Fourth day another with two of the chief of the Water Baptists; many of their hearers (who are not satisfied) came, and some of our Friends; and the power of the Lord was over them: though they are a very wise and subtle generation, yet the Lord by his wisdom in weak ones confounds and overturns them. A great shatter is among all the forms and gathered churches (as they are called;) and many are inquiring after the Truth.*

* *G. Fox's Journal*, 1654.—“The Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists were greatly disturbed; for

Concerning our Friends in Northampton,* they all continue in prison; as far as I know, Yorkshire Friends have been lately with them, and have supplied their necessities: those in Bedford likewise continue [in prison?] And for Friends at Norwich they are all released but Chr. Atkinson, John Stubbs and Wm. Caton were with us the last week; they are sweetly carried on in the work of the Lord, and are much strengthened; they went back again towards Dover. John Slee and Thomas Lawson went into Sussex: John Wilkinson and John Story are going westward. Thos. Salthouse and Miles Halhead are about Bristol, and lack nothing; nor any Friends,—for as they come up hither, if any want, our friends F. and E. supply them: the charge truly is great, but our desire is to make it as easy as possibly we can.

Here are in this city many precious Friends, and they begin to know George, though at the first he was strange to them; and one thing they all take notice of, that if George be in the company, all the rest are for the most part silent, which they did much wonder at.†

Our brethren Thos. Aldam and Anthony Pearson came into the city yesternight, they are now with George: Francis and Edward and Gerv. Benson are all here; who [would] have their dear love remembered to thee and all our Friends in

many of their people turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and sat down under his teachings: they received his power, and felt it in their hearts; and then they were moved of the Lord to declare against the rest of them."

* Amongst whom were William Dewsbury, and John Whitehead: See *Life of Dewsbury*, Chap. 7 & 8.

† This appears to have been G. Fox's first visit to London since the settlement of the Society.

thy family. Dearly salute me to my dear sisters thy children, and to the rest of the precious Friends who are faithful to the Lord with thee.

The eternal God of peace and love keep you all, and establish you in his love. Let thy prayers be for me, that I may go on in the power of our God, and be preserved above all temptation to his glory!

Thy dear and loving brother in the
fellowship of the Gospel of Christ,

Alex. Parker.

[From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.]

No. XI.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 21st of 3rd Month, [1655.]

MY DEARLY BELOVED SISTER,

—I KNOW that it is thy joy to learn the prosperity of the work of the Lord, that he may be exalted, who hath covered us,——and hath chosen us to bear witness unto his glorious name, and to publish his everlasting love abroad; that all may come to know the way to eternal life. Truly the arm of the Lord is with us in wisdom, in strength, in power, in utterance, in boldness; so that I cannot but say, O! the infinite riches of his love and mercy, which are inexpressible. Dear heart, praise the Lord on our behalf; and let all that know him rejoice with

us. In his love and power I will glory; but of myself I will not.——

Pray for us, for our work is doubled,—our care is doubled; but our strength is also renewed. The work is great in this city, but even few are fitted for it. The last First day there were ten meetings in the city, and the work lieth upon G. F. and us two, [F. H. and E. B.]; here are a precious people, [they] grow up in wisdom and life, and many are added. All the priests and all the gathered congregations in the city preach against us, and are bent in great rage, and print lies, and incense people much. E. B. and I have ordinarily two public disputes with the heads of them; and they lose their members so fast, they know not what to do: yet the city is pretty calm and quiet; and wisdom begins to grow among Friends, and divers are moved to go forth in the ministry. Two young men and two young women are moved to go to Barbadoes, out of the city; and another young man, a Scotchman, is moved to go for Scotland; and other two women are gone to Wales, and other two to Oxford,—all these are citizens. And many are moved to go to their churches, which they were of, and declare against them; and some to the steeple houses, and yet are preserved at liberty. Here are many Friends come up about tythes; there are near thirty in the city, and much care lieth upon us to order them, and for the brethren abroad that are in the work of the Lord, or in bonds.

Anthony Pearson, Gervase Benson, and Thomas Aldam are here; their service is now much about Friends appearing at courts this term about tythes. Alexander Parker is gone into Bedfordshire. John Stubbs hath some movings for Holland with W.

Caton, and he is in Kent with Thomas Robertson and Ambrose Rigge. John Slee, and Thomas Lawson are gone into Sussex ; Miles Halhead, and Thomas Salthouse are gone towards Plymouth. Our liberty here is of much advantage to all the churches of Christ every where,—glory be to Him that preserveth us in his bosom, and under the shadow of his wing ! All are at liberty at Norwich. E. B. salutes thee ; and salute us to all thy family and all Friends.—Thy brother, &c.

F. Howgill.

[*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*]

No. XII.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 29th of 3rd Month, [5th Mo.] 1655.

MY DEAR SISTER,

—YESTERDAY I came from Justice Crook's to this city: Friends are well here, and the Truth flourisheth,—glory to our God for ever !

Our dear brethren F. H. & E. B. went this day out of the city towards Norwich, Norfolk and Suffolk: their love is dearly remembered to thee and thy family. Gerv. Benson and Anth. Pearson and Thos. Aldam are yet in town, but intend shortly to return towards the north: they were yesterday with the Protector, and delivered some papers to him concerning our Friends' imprisonment ; and they spoke to him of many things: he was very moderate and promised to read the papers.

Miles Halhead and Thos. Salthouse are in prison at Plymouth upon the oath of abjuration, denying to swear. Jane Waugh is set free at Banbury: Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Holmes are set free at Dublin, and are in great service there. G. F. is yet in this city, but hath thoughts of passing forth this week into Kent (as far as I know;) if the Lord will, I purpose to pass along with him.

Thy dear brother in the love that changeth not,

Alex. Parker.

[*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*]

No. XIII.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

*London, [date not given, probably about the
4th or 5th Month 1655.]*

—THY letters I have received;—those to Oliver Cromwell are both delivered into his hand; but he is full of subtlety and deceit, will speak fair, but he hardens his heart, and acts secretly underneath. Our army is most scattered and broken, and cast into prison; I know none almost at liberty but George and Alexander [Parker], Edward [Burrough], and I and Gervase [Benson;] and except John Stubbs and Wm. Caton, John Wilkinson and John Story, and it is like they cannot be long out: yet truly the power of the Lord is over all. The work of the Lord is great, and goes on fast, notwithstanding all the rage of the heathen. —G. F. is here.—We have five or six meetings

every First day of Friends, besides two great places for a threshing floor ; and we have set up a meeting a little beyond Whitehall near Westminster : many are coming in, and many inquiring, and many are convinced daily :—glory and honour for ever to the Lord !—Richard Cleaton and R. Hubberthorne remain in bonds ; but Geo. Whitehead and Dorothy Waugh are at liberty [*from Norwich gaol (?)*]. M. Halhead and T. Salthouse are in prison at Exeter.—Jas. Lancaster and Thos. Stubbs, and another Friend are imprisoned at Bedford.—Edward Burrough is gone to Edmondsbury.—I shall take care for the supplyment of Friends in these parts, while I am here ; and truly I fear lest the burden should be heavy upon the North, for the charge is great, and our camp great.—

Thy brother in the fellowship of the
Gospel of Christ,

Francis Howgill.

[*W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*]

No. XIV.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 3rd of 7th Month, [9th Mo.] 1655.

DEARLY BELOVED SISTER,—dearly do I salute thee.

— Our life is one, our joy one, our suffering one, our food and raiment one,—eating both of one bread, and drinking both of one cup in the Father's house ; where there is bread enough, and

wells of living water to refresh the tender plants; where the babes are nourished and fed with the milk, and receive their meat in due season; where there is joy and rejoicing in the presence of the Lord, and pleasures for evermore; which only those do enjoy who have followed the Lamb through many tribulations and fiery trials and temptations, and have overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and their garments washed white and clean. Halleluia! praises to His glorious name for ever, who hath called and chosen us, and made us partakers of the divine nature; and hath redeemed us from the world and the pollutions of it, to be witnesses of His powerful name: and in his power and free love hath He sent us abroad into the world, to turn others from darkness and their vain conversation; that they may have union with us in the light of his Son, and praise and glorify his eternal majesty for ever and for evermore!

The Truth in this city spreads and flourisheth; many large meetings we have, and great ones of the world come to them, and are much tendered. James [Nayler] is fitted for this great place, and a great love is begotten in many towards him.* Our

* In a letter dated 28th of Fifth month [7th mo.] of this year, Alexander Parker writes thus respecting James Nayler: "James Nayler on Fourth day had a great dispute with some of the chief of the separated congregations; and it being public, a great meeting there was; (it was in one of their own meeting-houses;) and truly it was much for the advancement of the Truth; for though they were—— [*word not intelligible*] yet they were much confounded. James is very serviceable here, and his fame begins to spread in the city, seeing that he hath had public disputes with many."

This was rather more than a year before J. N.'s fall; and it appears from G. Fox's Journal, that it was towards the close of this year that G. F. had a fear respecting

dear one G. F. doth purpose this week to pass into the country northward, but how far north I cannot yet tell. On next Fifth day but one, a meeting is appointed in Lincolnshire, where George doth purpose to be; at present I know nothing but that I shall pass with him; if otherwise it be ordered, I stand single in the will of the Lord.

We received a letter from Francis and Edward out of Ireland; they have had many meetings, and many hearers that confess the Truth in words;—time will further show. M. Halhead and T. Salt-house remain prisoners in Exeter with some others. John Camm and John Audland are at liberty in the work of the Lord, in and about Bristol, &c. Wm. Dewsbury and the rest continue in prison at Northampton, and three in this city are in Bridewell for speaking to the priests.

Alexander Parker.

[*W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*]

No. XV.

JAMES NAYLER* TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 3rd of 9th Month [11th Mo.]

[*Year endorsed by G. F., 1655.*]

MY SISTER DEARLY LOVED IN THE LORD,

—YESTERDAY I had a meeting at a house called him. The reader will probably observe, in the above extract, matter for reflection in regard to J. Naylers subsequent career.

* The name of this Friend is very often spelt Naylor; but the editor has carefully compared his signatures at length in his original letters, and plainly discovers it to be Nayler—the e, and the o, in his hand-writing being distinctly different.

Lady Darcy's;* many were there from the Court, some called lords (as it is said,) divers ladies, divers officers of the army, some of the [chief? *word not clear*] priests in the city, how many I know not; for they got behind a ceiling, and came not out till I was gone. Though there were some Baptists asked a question or two after I had done, (tending to plead for sin,) and were silenced; yet not one priest would speak a word, nor stand up for their kingdom. I was moved to call to any that had anything to oppose, to speak to the face; but none would answer. Two or three of Henry Vane's brethren were there all the while, and he himself kept behind, [but] came after all was ended: he is very loving to Friends, but drunk with imaginations:† there is a band of them sunk therein, and do harm to some amongst them, who else would be very tender; divers are brought to tears when they hear the Truth. Peace be with you all.

J. N.

G. Benson is a faithful man, and of much service

* G. Fox, in his Journal, speaks of a female of the name of 'Abigail Darcy, who was called a lady;—she was convinced of the truth.'

† Vane was a conspicuous character at this period and subsequently:—he was strongly attached to a republican government, and opposed Cromwell in his progress towards assuming the reins of government as Protector. He was said to be one of the leaders of the Independents. Burnet the historian says of him:—'Though he set up a form of religion in a way of his own, yet it consisted rather in a withdrawing from all other forms, than in any new or particular forms and opinions; from which he and his party were called Seekers, and seemed to

amongst the judges and lawyers; he stands above their deceit, and prospers. — Great is our God, blessed for evermore!

[*From the Original.*]

No. XVI.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

London [without date, but from its alluding to the prisoners at Launceston, it is presumed to be about 1st mo. 1656.]

—In this city Truth hath dominion over all; none will stand now to dispute, but they turn away.

—We have about twenty meetings in a week in this city; and ten or twenty miles about, [there are] great desires; and if we can, we go out; but we cannot stay: great is our care. — From Lanston [Launceston] we hear this week that the prisoners there are well, and they have *pretty* liberty.

—John Crook is in prison with Thomas Stubbs, at Northampton. —

E. B. salutes thee;—he is almost spent: few know our condition. —

F. H.

[*W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*]

wait for some new and clearer manifestations.' He was one of the Committee of Public Safety in Richard Cromwell's time: after the restoration of King Charles, he was sacrificed on the scaffold in 1662.

XVII.

FRANCIS HOWGILL AND EDWARD BURROUGH TO
THOMAS ALDAM.

London, 19th of 7th mo. [9 Mo.] 1656.

DEAR BROTHER,

IN the love of our God we salute thee and all
Friends in the Truth.

Blessed be the Lord God of power and glory,
who hath called us to so high a calling, as to bear
witness to his name, and to publish the everlasting
Gospel ;—praises eternal be to our God for ever !

Dear brethren, we are with you in your bonds,
in your reproaches and imprisonments, and in your
rejoicings ; your joy is ours, for we eat with you
and drink with you at our Father's table, where
there is plenteous nourishment for all those who
wait in his counsel, and are obedient to his com-
mands.

Dear brethren, our care is great ;—the harvest
is great ; who are sufficient for these things ?
Here are fields white unto harvest ; and much of
the power of God hath been with us. — Great
hath been our burden and our work since we came
here, and our reward is great. Much have we
been drawn out to administer in power and wisdom.
We have exceeding great meetings of all sorts, and
we labour and travail until Christ be formed in
them. Pray for us, that we may be kept in His
power, [which] reigneth over all :—by the power of
the Lord the mouths of lions are stopped, kings
are bound in chains :—eternal living praises for

evermore to Him, who rides on conquering in power and great glory! many are brought under great judgment and true power, and many have learned their own condemnation.

The last First day, my dear yoke fellow and I went in the forenoon to two of the highest notionists and the greatest deceivers in the city, at two steeple houses, where the wise of the city come; and I had great liberty, and spoke towards an hour; all were silent, and some confessed they never heard so much truth in power delivered. Many would have had me to their houses; but we lay hands on none hastily.—

James Lancaster and Miles Halhead are come hither, but I believe they will not stay long here. Richard Hubberthorne is in prison at Cambridge. Thomas Holmes is also in prison at Chester, with seven or eight besides. We have received letters from Kendal, there are nine or ten in prison there and at Appleby. From Bristol we have received letters from our dear brethren John Audland and John Camm; the mighty power of the Lord is that way: that is a precious city, and a gallant people: their net is like to break with fishes, they have caught so much [there] and all the coast thereabout: mighty is His work and power in this His day! Shout for joy all ye holy ones! for the Lord rides on in power to get himself a name; and let all that know the Lord praise him, for his mercy endureth for ever!

Captain Stodart [Amos S.] hath wrote to thee and Samuel Watson; your letters he hath received, but how they can be delivered I know not.* We

* Perhaps some addresses to Cromwell or others in power are here meant.

have three or four more, but we find no moving to deliver them: here is such stirring about his power [Cromwell's:] he carries all with a high hand; 200 of the parliament are gone home.* But as for those things, they are nothing to us, we are redeemed from them; praises to the Lord for evermore, who hath made us to reign above the world, and to trample upon it!

Dear brother, farewell! salute us to all that are faithful in their measure received. Our dear love to thee and John Kilham, and all the rest of the Lord's faithful witnesses; and salute us to the women our dear sisters upon Ouse-bridge [York] if they are yet in prison.

Your brethren in the work of the Lord,

Francis Howgill.

Edward Burrough.

[From a Copy.]

* This appears to be a period in Cromwell's Protectorate, when the republican characters of the day were found too stiff for him. Among the leaders of this party were two persons, who are named in these Letters, Vane and Rich. These men Cromwell committed to prison, for not submitting, as he thought, to his authority. From Mackintosh's *History of England*, vol. vi. p. 217, we learn, that 'the meeting of Parliament stood for the 17th of September' [two days before the date of this letter:] Cromwell on this occasion 'resorted to an exercise of power so arbitrary and sweeping, as to render the summoning of Parliament a mockery.' The members, after hearing the Protector's speech 'in the Painted Chamber, proceeded to their house. They found the door guarded by soldiers, who admitted none but those provided with a certificate of the approbation of [Cromwell's] council, signed by the clerk of the commonwealth. This ticket had been withheld from about 100 members, and they were excluded.' This was the Parliament that sat on James Nayler's case.

No. XVIII.

[WE are now arrived at the period of James Nayler's fall, and of his memorable trial before the House of Commons : for full particulars respecting this lamentable event of his life, his trial, cruel sentence, and subsequent condemnation and penitence, the reader must be referred to *Sewell's History* under this date, the account of which occupies many pages. The *Diary of Thomas Burton* will also afford ample details as to what passed in the House of Commons respecting his case : Burton was a member of the House, and was mostly present, it seems, during these proceedings.*]

* Among the many speeches given in abstract by Burton, during the protracted debates on James Nayler's case, that of Lord Lambert may here be quoted, as almost the only one worthy of notice : the whole picture as regards the temper and proceedings of the House of Commons on this occasion, presents a strange and humiliating view of the character of that assembly, and of the spirit of the age. Lambert was a member of Cromwell's council, a general in his army, and M.P. for the West Riding of York.

"Lord Lambert. It is a matter of sadness to many men's hearts, and sadness to mine also, especially in regard to his [J.N.'s] relation sometime to me. He was two years my Quarter-master, and a very useful person. We parted with him with great regret. He was a man of a very unblameable life and conversation ; a member of a very sweet society of an Independent Church. [*Lambert was an Independent.*] How he comes (by pride or otherwise) to be puffed up to this opinion, I cannot determine. But this may be a warning to us all, to work out our salvation with fear and trembling."—*Burton's Diary*, vol. i. p. 33.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 25th of 9th mo. [11th mo. 1656.]

DEAR SISTER,

MY dear love salutes thee and the rest of thy family, and all the faithful thereabouts.

I have been in the east counties, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; where the service of the Lord is great, and the labourers are few. And as the travail is great, so is the reward; which is, his power and presence to accompany his work.

At present I am come up again to London; but it is like I shall not stay long in the city, but pass into the west to Bristol and South Wales, if the Lord will.

J. N. [James Nayler] is here at London; he and the women are kept as prisoners at an inn, and have been twice called before a Committee of Parliament-men,* and examined whether he would own that James Nayler was Christ; but he kept them out of all occasions against him, saying he denied James Nayler to be Christ, but Christ was in him. There hath been several times [some] of the Parliament men come to the place where they are kept prisoners, questioning him about such things as were acted by him and the women, in their witnessing him to be so; but he sometimes put them off without giving them a full answer, and left them unsatisfied. Upon Sixth day last, I was with James.—That power of darkness in the women rules over him, as I wrote to thee at the first. Many people come daily to them, both of the world, and also such as are convinced; and they

* It consisted of fifty-five members, and among them most of the law officers of the Commonwealth.

wonder at the imitations which are acted among them; as they often will kneel before him, &c. James speaks pretty much to Friends as in justifying all their actings to be in innocency. I was moved to speak unto him when I was with him,—but he was not willing to hear me open the truth of anything to the people.—My heart was made to pity his condition; but all the counsel of the brethren to him is contemned in the present state in which he is, though bowels of tenderness have been [extended—*word not clear*] towards him. Some that are unstable think that there is a great power among them: but though as a cloud it darkens some at the present, (being risen out of the earth,) at the end of the days of limitation, it will fall to the earth again; and the sun will shine over it: and the children will receive power of the Son to reign over all deceit. This I have written, to let thee understand something of his condition as it is:—*

Thy dear Brother,
R. H.

[*From W. Caton's Collection.*]

* Among the Swarthmore collection of letters, was found the following address from George Fox to James Nayler about this time:—it is endorsed by G. F. thus:—
'g ff to james naler—1656.'

and at foot is a memorandum in the same hand-writing as that of the letter, viz.—*'This is a copy of the letter that was found about him when he was examined.'*

GEORGE FOX TO JAMES NAYLER.

"James, thou must bear thy own burden and thy company's with thee; whose iniquity doth increase, and by thee is not cried against. Thou hast satisfied the world, yea, their desires which they looked for. Thou and thy disciples, and the world [are] joined against the Truth, it is manifest through your wilfulness and stubbornness; and this is the word of the Lord God to thee.—Many

No. XIX.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO M. FELL.

London, 10th of 12th Month [1656.]
[2nd Mo. 1657.]

—As for J. N. [James Nayler] he is in Bride-well, and they will suffer few to come to him. The

did not expect that thou wouldst have been an encourager of such, as do cry against the power and life of Truth, but wouldst have been a nourisher of Truth, and not have trained up a company against it.

And what is that which doth fulfil the world's prophecy and their desires! Therefore consider, and search thyself, if this be innocency. The light of God in you all I own, but this I judge.

George Fox."

For James N. these.

It would seem that Cromwell was in doubt, as to the tendency of the proceedings and sentence of the House of Commons in the case of J. Nayler, by the following letter copied from a volume of MSS. in the British Museum.

The Lord Protector's letter to the Parliament, touching the sentence by them given against James Nayler.

To our right trusty and well-beloved Sir Thos. Widdington, Kt. Speaker of the Parliament.

'O. P. Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.

Having taken notice of a judgment lately given by yourselves against one James Nayler, although we detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of such crimes, as are commonly imputed to the said person; yet we being intrusted [with] the present government on behalf of the people of these nations, and not knowing how far such proceeding (wholly without us) may extend in the consequences of

women [his followers,]—sometimes appoint meetings in the most public places of the city, as in the Exchange, and at the places where J. N. suffered. From the Exchange they sent some of them to prison at Bridewell: they are a great offence to the way of Truth here for the present; but the Truth will work through it all. Though the waters of strife are up in floods at present, yet sweetly doth the water of life flow, and pleasant streams are

it, do desire that the House will let us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded.

Given at Whitehall the 25th of Dec. 1656.*

[*Corresponds with 10th mo. of Friends of that day.*]

In *Burton's Diary*, vol. i., p. 246, we have a report of the proceedings of the House on the Speaker's reading the above letter; the narrative is curious;—not a few of the members seem to confess to the unwarrantable (if not illegal) stretch of the authority of the House in its proceedings and sentence against James Nayler. The debate on the Protector's letter is continued by adjournments from time to time;—the House in fact seems unable to give a fair 'account of the grounds and reasons whereupon they proceeded to such sentence.' Several members urge the appointment of a committee to prepare an answer to the Protector: at length, on the matter being specially adjourned for the order of a future day, "the business of the day, that is, an answer to the letter," becomes, (as Burton writes,) "jostled out; and nobody said a word to it. I hear [he adds] it will never be mentioned again; if it be, I dread the consequence." This interesting parliamentary Diarist then goes on:—"I writ nothing this day in the House. A friend told me that it would be taken notice of: he heard it much talked on the day before. Colonel — told me a week since, that — had a purpose to take me down." Burton, however, does not drop his *note-book* in consequence.*

* The Editor has seen the original MS. of the Diary; it is contained in a large number of small pocket note books.

1657, SERVICES, &c. in London.

drawn of by those who keep patient in the will of God; and life, power, and glory, are more manifest than ever from the Father.

R. H.

[*In a letter dated London, 22nd of 12th Month, [2nd Mo. 1657,] he writes thus:—*]

As for J. N. he remains in Bridewell, and is kept close; they will not suffer any Friends to come at him, but his wife gets to him sometimes. He is still in the separation from Truth and from Friends; but the work of God goes on and prospers. Alexander [A. Parker] is here; E. B. is in Essex; and F. H. in Kent.

R. H.

[*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*]

XX.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 16th of 1st Month, [3rd mo.] 1657.

DEAR BROTHER,

FRIENDS here are well, and in good order, growing into the love and life of Truth, and feeling the virtue and power of it in them; and the meetings are pretty quiet.

Friends in New England are well, and those that were prisoners at Boston are set free, and are passing several ways,—some to Barbadoes. William Ames is come out of Holland, and this day is passed

towards Bristol; and he intends shortly to come northward to thee.

This week did the mayor, aldermen, and common councilmen of this city go up to Whitehall, to Oliver; and he made a speech among them, concerning the danger of enemies, and of Charles being ready in Flanders to come over with an army into England: and in his declaration, he spoke more against Friends than ever before he formerly expressed; saying, that there was a good law made against the Quakers, and they did well to put it in execution, and he would stand by them; for, he said, they were against both magistracy and ministry. So he and they are all hardened against the Truth; and all their pretences of setting Friends at liberty, which they were once about, are now ceased; and they are only plotting how to exalt themselves in the earth.

Francis Howgill is yet in Essex or that way. There is great service in and about this city.

Friends' love here is dear unto thee.

R. Hubberthorne.

[*From the Original.*]

[It APPEARS from *Burton's Diary*, that after the passing of the cruel sentence upon J. Nayler, the House of Commons proceeded to receive several petitions against the Quakers, presented from various parts of the country; upon which a debate ensued, and the petitions were referred to the *same* committee which sat on James Nayler's case, to report upon "a Bill to suppress the mischief." In the course of this debate many members urge "some speedy course to be taken against" this people: one says, "the sect is dangerous, their

increase numerous, prevention very necessary ;” several others inform the House that they are growing very numerous in various parts of the country ; the M.P. for Cumberland states, that “ they meet in multitudes, and upon moors in *terrorem populi*,” [to the terror of people !] another [the M.P. for Devonshire,] “ that they meet in thousands in our county, and certainly will overrun all, both ministers and magistrates. I desire that you will make no delay in this business : ere long it will be too late to make a law.” There is no doubt, but that in consequence of J. Nayler’s affair, and the *grave* cognizance taken of it by the House of Commons, a strong public prejudice was unjustly imbibed against the Friends of that day, though in no way implicated in, or answerable for J. N.’s offence.

The Parliament, however, proceeded with a Bill against vagrants, which was so expressed as to be capable of being readily used against Friends. This is probably the law alluded to above by the Protector ; which enacted that every idle person “ vagrant from his usual place of living or abode,” and who “ shall not have *such good and sufficient cause or business* for such his travelling or wandering, as the *justices or justice of peace, mayors &c.*, before whom such person or persons shall be brought, *shall approve of*,” shall be proceeded against and punished as rogues &c.—(*Scobell’s Acts*, 1657, cap. 21.)*

* The first mention of the name of Quakers in the records of Parliament occurs in the Journals of the House of Commons in the year 1654, from whence the following extract is taken :

“ *Saturday, 30th December, 1654.* ‘ Referred to,’ [a Committee of several members] ‘ or any three of them, to prepare a Bill upon a debate of the House touching Quakers ; with power to them to receive informations

No. XXI.

RICHARD FARNSWORTH TO FRIENDS.

Warmsworth, 18th of 7th mo. [9th mo.] 1657.

—I HAVE received several letters of late from J. N., and one I received this day ; whereby it appears

from the members of this House or others, touching these persons, the better to enable them to describe them in this Bill."

The Editor of Burton's Diary, after the account of the debate in the above-mentioned Vagrant Bill, has a note, which is curious, and is as follows :—

"A communication made about this time by a military officer, to the chief governor of Ireland, will show what apprehensions were excited there by the movements of these sons of peace. I copied the following from the original letter of Major Redman, M. P., for Catherlough, [Carlow,] it is dated 'Kilkenny, 15th March, 1656-7,' and is thus addressed.

'These to his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell [Henry Cromwell] at Court House, Dublin, humbly presented.

Haste, Haste, Haste !

May it please your Excellency,
Captain Franks and myself were at Waterford, according to your order, when there met about one hundred Quakers and more, besides the parties of them that were going thither, being ten or twelve in a company ; when I ordered our parties of horse and foot to turn them back again, which otherwise would, I judge, have increased their number to about 200. There was not any disturbance at all [!] only they met all in a great barn, where Justice Cook, Colonel Leigh, and several others spent at least two hours, endeavouring to convince them of their follies, but to little purpose. Cornet Cooke was very zealous amongst them to defend their opinions. I advised Colonel Leigh not to permit any more such considerable numbers, either of them or any of their adherents, to meet within that city."—(*From the Lansdown MSS.* 823 No. 369.)

that he is in a great sense of his condition, and very loving, humble, tender, and low: he also expressed that his love is great to all the faithful flock. They brought a high priest to him (as his letter expresseth,) and many went with him, and saw the priest's folly; which silenced many of the people, but enraged the priest. He desires the prayers of the faithful.

God Almighty be with you, bless, and preserve, and keep you and all his beloved ones, firm and faithful to Himself, in the day of trial and hour of temptation, (as I hope he will;) even so, Amen.

I am yours as you are the Lord's. Farewell.

R. F.

[*From the original.*]

No. XXII.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 5th of 11th mo. 1657. [1st mo. 1658.]

MY DEAR SISTER M. F.

THE Lord is ministering to many, an entrance into the everlasting Truth, and is gathering into the life of it; and the Truth is secretly working.

—I have passed through Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and was about five weeks in them, in great service.—Then I was moved to come up to London; and something was upon me for Oliver Cromwell, to whom I have already written. Some sufferings of Friends have been laid before him lately, which are so cruel, that he is much offended

with those justices that caused it, and promises to do something.

Here are many in this city daily convinced, and the Truth grows. Last First day, there were five of Fleetwood's family * at the meeting at Worcester House; and the Truth spreads and gets dominion, and Friends grow into feeling of the power of it.

I have been with J. N. three times since I came; he is loving, and his love doth increase; and he feels refreshment from those that be in the life and power of Truth.†

Salute me dearly to all Friends.

Farewell: thy dear brother,

R. H. †

[From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.]

* Fleetwood was Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1657, and a member of Cromwell's council; he married a daughter of the Protector.

† In *Nichol's State Papers*, (p. 143,) is a letter addressed to Cromwell from a William Malyn, dated August, 1668, from which the following is extracted:—it is not improbable that there was some intention on the part of Cromwell to have discharged J. N.; but he died on the third of the month following that of the date of this letter: J. N. was released by Parliament after the death of Cromwell. With regard to J. Nayler's taciturnity, as mentioned in this letter; it is probable it was most to the peace of his own mind to maintain silence towards those 'of the world,' who intruded themselves upon him. The writer of the letter seems not a little mistaken in his opinion of J. N.'s state.

—"I went this morning to Bridewell to see James Nayler.—I found him in his bed, and sitting up with his head on a pillow.* I sat by him a good while, and told him upon what account I came to see how he was, and whether he desired any thing to be done to him or for him. He would not speak a word, though often pressed thereto by myself and those that stood by. I

* J. N. had been ill.

No. XXIII.

[THE foregoing letters with the two following, which allude to James Nayler, both as regards his fall

also withdrew for some time and came to him again, and asked him, if he were free to have any discourse with me, or if he had anything to desire that I should acquaint your Highness with, but by all that I could do, I could not get a word from him.—It being near sermon time, I left him, and went to Paul's.* After sermon I spake with my Lord Packe, (my Lord Titchbourne and my Lord Barkstead being by,) and gave my Lord Packe an account of what I had done, and my Lord Packe told me that he did intend to-morrow to wait on your Highness, to give your Highness a particular account of James Nayler.

Truly, my Lord, I look upon him to be under a resolved sullenness, and I doubt in the height of pride.—I hope I should not go about to dissuade your Highness from a work of tenderness and mercy, which is pleasing to God ; which we have reasons and objects enough for, without doing that which may offend God, through want of zeal for his glory and honour, against such horrible impieties.—Truly, my Lord, in this case I conceive there is more want of watchfulness, that we do not offend on that head, I mean through want of zeal.

William Malyn.

‡ In another letter of R. Hubberthorne to George Fox, in this year, 1657, he says in a postscript, after speaking of his own services in Kent, "I was twice with John Lilburne : he is zealous and forward for the Truth : he hath a sight and comprehension, which is deep : he sees that the Truth comprehends all, and he hath a love unto it, and a desire to attain to it." It appears from a work called *Cromwelliana*, that J. Lilburne died in the autumn of this year, at Eltham, in Kent ; and his corpse was removed thence to London, "to the house called the Mouth, in Aldersgate, which is the usual meeting place of the people called Quakers, to whom (it seems) he had lately joined in opinion :"—it was afterwards conveyed "to Moorfields, and buried in a burial ground near Bedlam."

* This designation is that of the author of the letter.

and his recovery into fellowship with his brethren, and afterwards (as we shall see) his return to gospel service, are very interesting and instructive in several respects. The following observations are taken from a work, published by Joseph Wyeth, in 1699:—"James Nayler was a man who had been highly favoured of God with a good degree of grace, which was sufficient for him, had he kept to its teaching; for while he did so, he was exemplary in godliness and great humility. He was powerful in word and doctrine, and thereby instrumental in the hand of God for turning many from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the power of God. But he, poor man, became exalted above measure, through the abundance of revelations; and in that exaltation did depart from the grace and holy Spirit of God, which had been his sufficient teacher. Then blindness came over him, and he suffered himself to be accounted of above what he ought. Here he slipped and fell, but not irrecoverably; for it did please God of his infinite mercy, in the day of his affliction, to give him a sight and sense of his out-goings, and also a place of repentance. And he, with the prodigal, humbled himself for his transgression; and besought God with true contrition of soul, to pardon his offences through Jesus Christ. God, I firmly believe, forgave him: for he pardons the truly penitent. His people received him with great joy; for that he, who had gone astray from God, was now returned to the Father's house; and for that he, who had separated himself from them through his iniquity, was now through repentance and forsaking of it, returned into the unity of the faith and their holy fellowship in the gospel of Christ.—Here let none insult, but take

ed lest they also, in the hour of temptation, do fall way."—*Joseph Wyeth, Switch for the Snake, &c.*]

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 15th of 4th Month [6th Mo.] 1658.

MY DEARLY BELOVED SISTER,

—I HAVE been with J. N. in the prison three times since I came to this city, and true love and fe are springing up in him; he is made willing to be under all, and would do anything that might in the wisdom of God be seen convenient, for taking off all occasion, as much as in him lies, either by public recantation (which I do not judge serviceable) for exalting the Truth, or any other way; he is made willing to bear all, and to come under all, and hath passed through true judgment.—James hath written a few words with much subjection, desiring to be reconciled; and I know that George [Fox] is dearer to him than ever, as by his words I have heard. My dear sister, as thou hast been tender and of large compassion unto the sufferer, I beseech thee make intercession for him; that in the spirit of meekness, as a brother, he may be restored again. I am plain unto thee, having no other thing in my heart, but the glory and advancement of the Truth in this thing, and peace and unity amongst brethren.—I know it lieth on G. F.—In patience I shall wait to see the Truth advanced over all; for I have great hopes that all things will be well.

Thy dear brother in the fellowship of the gospel,

Alex. Parker.

[From W. Cotton's Collection.]

No. XXIV.

JAMES NAYLER TO MARGARET FELL.

[Endorsed by G. F. 1658.]

DEARLY BELOVED SISTER,

THOU art often in my remembrance, and my heart is to see thee when God wills; in whose counsel and life I desire to walk, to his praise alone, who hath thus far redeemed me out of deep adversity; and doth still work with me and for me, (as I abide in his patience and obedience,) making my way through many oppositions and trials. In his will alone I desire to rest and be still; who in the needful time hath still appeared; —praises to Him for ever!

I suppose thou may have heard of my going to see our beloved G. F. at Ridding [Reading,] which in tenderness of love I did, as soon as I was got out of prison, hearing he was not well:* but I was not permitted to come where he was; which my adversary rejoiced at, that thereby he might add sorrow to affliction:—but my spirit was quieted, in that simplicity in which I went, in that to return: and [He] gave me His peace therein, as though I had had my desire,—blessed be the Lord God of my mercy for this thing; who still becomes my peace, and his presence is with me in what He moves me to, which is my comfort and refreshment, —and so His will is my peace.

—My dear love to thee and to thy family, and

* See G. F.'s Journal under date 1658.

all faithful Friends with thee: I am refreshed when I feel thee near me, or hear from thee, in that in which we cannot be separated.

famos Rayls

[*From the original; it has a seal I. N. and is addressed 'For Margaret Fell, at Swarthmore, these.'**]

No. XXV..

EDWARD BURROUGH TO FRANCIS HOWGILL.

London, 24th of 7th mo. [9th mo.] 1658.

—ALL things here are very well, and our meetings of late very quiet and precious, and large always: and now in Westminster we have a great place as big as the Bull and Mouth, near the Abba, [*Abbey?*] where on the First days [we] have meetings: Truth spreads and grows. The Earl of Pembroke has been with us; there is a principle of God stirring in him: and this night at Woodcock's at the meeting, was the Earl of Newport,—he is truly loving to us.†

* It is rarely that his name is to be found written out in full.

† In Gilbert Lathey's Life, an account is given of the several meeting places in London; among them one is stated to have been held "at William Woodcock's house, who lived in the Strand, between the great gate of Somerset House, and the water gate thereto belonging."

The Earl of Newport is spoken of by G. Fox:—It

All things as to the outward in the city are very quiet; and the sufferings are laid before this new Protector, [Richard Cromwell,] who carries [himself] fair; divers have been with him. A large letter I was moved to write to him.* Something in his council (who are now the chief actors in all things,) is in agitation, as to release all our Friends :—a list of above a hundred is given in.

William Caton has been here a week, and is gone into Kent. Thomas Rob. [Robertson (?)] was here last week, and is gone into Hampshire. R. H. is now about Newcastle, for Scotland.

I remain, in some haste thine,



[From the original.]

No. XXVI.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 22nd of 8th mo. [10th mo.] 1658.

DEAR SISTER, with my dear Brethren and Sisters, in the tender love of God I salute you all, who in

was at his house that G. F. and some friends accepted a challenge from a Jesuit, to dispute with 'all the Quakers,' in 1658. *Journal*, (1658.)

* Given, in part only in Sewell's History under date 1658.

the measure of the Spirit of Jesus are united, [as] living members of the body unto Christ the head.

Dear! beloved, the work of the Lord goeth on in power and in the authority of the Almighty, which reigns over the heads of the wicked. The Lord is gathering in many in this city daily; there are many meetings, full and large, where there is any to declare the Truth amongst them: and they that are great in the earth, the power of Truth strives through them, and is drawing them in daily. The priests confess that there is such a power amongst us, that none who come to us can escape; and [they] exhort people not to come to us.—The last First day I was at the Bull and Mouth, where there was a great and serviceable meeting: and the after part of the day I was at Westminster, where there was a large meeting, and many soldiers, who are pretty faithful in their measures. J. N. [James Nayler,] was at two meetings; and the afternoon he had a great meeting, where many were convinced that had not come before, as there is in every meeting a coming in daily.

This day, if the Lord will, I am to pass out of the city towards Dunstable, to have a meeting to-morrow, where a Baptist teacher hath promised to be, and many people intending to be at it. The next day I purpose to be at Justice Crook's, and I expect to meet my brother G. F. this week.

Dear! salute me to all Friends,

R. H.

[*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*]

No. XXVII.

Second Month (called April) 1659.

[OUR Friends, for several years previous to this period, had put forth in print many sad narratives of persecutions and sufferings of their members in various parts of the country, on account of their religious testimonies: (See *Whiting's Catalogue*, under *Sufferings*.) Warning addresses had also been written by E. Burrough and others, to the Protector Oliver Cromwell; yet it seems they were generally unavailing, for he died, leaving the case of these suffering innocent people unredressed. Further exertions on the part of Friends to obtain relief were made about this time, by application to the new Protector Richard Cromwell, as well as to the Parliament. It appears that on the Sixth day of this Month (called April) an address was presented on behalf of Friends to the Speaker of the House of Commons, entitled,

“ To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, being a declaration of the names, places, and sufferings of such as are now in prison for speaking the truth in several places—for not paying tithes—for meeting together in the fear of God—for not swearing—for wearing their hats—for being accounted as vagrants—for visiting Friends, and for things of the like nature—in all about 144:—Besides, imprisoned and persecuted till death, twenty-one. Also a brief narrative of their sufferings within the last six years or thereabouts, of about 1960 persons already returned; being but part of many more, whose names and sufferings are

not yet returned: all which it is desired may be read and considered of by this Parliament, that right may be done.'

[Then follows a list of cases of sufferings, arranged under the several counties, and comprised in many pages.]

This declaration seems to have laid dormant in the House for a time: at length Friends came forward once more, with the following address to the House of Commons, an appeal calculated (one might suppose) to move the hardest of hearts. This address is printed at large in *Besse's Sufferings*; it is truly a remarkable document, and is well deserving, the Editor thinks, of a place in these historical notices relating to our Society. A considerable number of Friends, probably all whose names are subscribed to the document, attended at the avenues of the House on the occasion.]

From Besse's Sufferings, (Fol.) Preface.

"THERE was a printed paper presented to the Parliament in 1659, and subscribed by one hundred and sixty-four of this people; wherein they make an offer of their own bodies, person for person, to lie in prison instead of such of their brethren as were then under confinement, and might be in danger of their lives through extreme durance, which paper was as follows, viz.

' Friends,

WHO are called a Parliament of these Nations: we in love to our brethren that lie in prisons, and Houses of Correction, and dungeons, and many in fetters and irons, and have been cruelly beat by the cruel gaolers, and many have been persecuted

to death, and have died in prison, and many lie sick and weak in prison, and on straw ; so we in love to our brethren do offer up our bodies and selves to you, for to put us as lambs into the same dungeons, and Houses of Correction, and their straw, and nasty holes, and prisons ; and do stand ready a sacrifice for to go into their places in love to our brethren, that they may go forth, and that they may not die in prison, as many of the brethren are dead already : for we are willing to lay down our lives for our brethren, and to take their sufferings upon us, which you would inflict upon them. For if our brethren suffer, we cannot but feel it : and Christ saith, It is he that suffereth and was not visited. This is our love towards God and Christ, and our brethren, that we owe to them and our enemies, who are lovers of all your souls and your eternal good.

And if you will receive our bodies, which we freely tender to you for our Friends that are now in prison, for speaking the Truth in several places, for not paying tithes—for meeting together in the fear of God—for not swearing—for wearing their hats—for being accounted as vagrants—for visiting Friends, and for things of the like nature, according to a paper intituled, "*A Declaration to the Parliament,*" &c. delivered the Sixth day of the Second Month, called April, 1659, to the then Speaker of the said House : We whose names are hereunto subscribed (being a sufficient number to answer for the present sufferers,) are waiting in Westminster-hall for an answer from you to us, to answer our tenders, and to manifest our love to our Friends, and to stop the wrath and judgment from coming upon our enemies.'

Henry Abbott, Alexander Allen, James Allen,

John Allington, John Anderson, William Archpool, Henry Ayres, Humphry Backe, John Baddely, Daniel Baker, John Barber, John Barnard, Richard Bax, John Beckett, James Beeche, William Bett, George Bewley, Nicholas Bend, John Blackfan, Edward Bland, Thomas Blatt, Edward Billing, John Bolton, Thomas Braborn, Thomas Bradley, Ninion Brockett, Edward Brook, William Brown, Thomas Burchett, Richard Bird, Joseph Bushell, Jacob Carr, Manasseh Casketter, John Chandler, Richard Clipsham, Richard Cockbill, Maximilian Cockerill, Francis Collins, Henry Cocke, Thomas Coveney, Richard Crane, Stephen Crisp, John Crook, Edmund Cross, Thomas Curtis, Thomas Davenport, Richard Davis, Richard Deane, William Dike, John Disborow, Thomas Dawen, Rowland Eldridge, John Fawkes, James Fenner, John Fielder, John Faster, John Freeborn, John Furly, jun., Benjamin Furly, Roger Gaine, Nathaniel Garrard, William Garrett, John Gayon, William Geering, Edward Giles, Henry Godman, Peter Gass, Richard Greenaway, James Grynier, John Hackleton, Richard Hacker, William Hampshire, Edward Harrison, William Harwood, Cuthbert Harle, Robert Hasle, Richard Hindmarsh, John Hollis, Justinian Holyman, John Hope, William Hownell, Stephen Hubbard, Robert Ingram, Ralph Johns, William Johnson, Joseph Jones, Rice Jones, Richard Jonson, Thomas Kent, Humphry Kirby, George Lamboll, Joseph Langley, John Lawrence, Thomas Lawrence, John Lee, Richard Lewis, John Love, William Marnier, Benjamin Matthews, Robert Mildred, Robert Moor, Thomas Moor, William Mullins, John Newton, Richard Newman,

Robert Newman, Thomas Norris, Edward Owers, Alexander Parker, Thomas Passenger, William Pennington, John Pennymen, William Piersehouse, William Plumley, Benjamin Pierson, John Price, Richard Quick, John Radley, George Rawlins, Thomas Rawlinson, Thomas Reese, Nicholas Rickman, George Robinson, Simon Robinson, John Scanfield, John Schoren, Thomas Seaman, Edward Shaller, William Shewin, Thomas Shortland, Robert Sikes, Richard Simpson, James Smith, Jonah Smith, James Smither, Robert Sooley, Edward Southwood, William Sparey, John Starkey, John Stavelin, John Stedman, Robert Stedman, Thomas Stedman, Amos Stoddart, John Stevens, William Styles, Arthur Stanbridge, Thomas Tax, James Tenning, Rowland Tichbourn, William Travers, Richard Tidder, John Tyso, Samuel Vause, Robert Wade, Christopher White, Philip Williamson, Stephen Wix, Caleb Woods, William Woodcock, John Woolrich, Henry Woolger, John Yardly.*

[Although little or no apparent effect appeared to

* From the "*Mercurius Politicus*," a news book of that period, [*Brit. Mus.*] the following public notice of this occurrence is given forth :—

'1659. Friday, April 15.—This day and the following, a great number of a sort of people called Quakers, came up to London from several parts, and assembled themselves in Westminster Hall, with intent to represent somewhat to the House touching the men of their way.

'Saturday, 16th April.—A paper written on the outside thereof with these words, namely, "For the Speaker of the Commons assembled in Parliament, these are for him to read to the House of Commons," was this day read. And upon the reading thereof, the same, amongst other things, referred to another paper entituled 'A Declaration to the Parliament, &c. delivered the Sixth day of the Second Month called April, 1659,' to the then

be produced at the time in the House from the foregoing affecting appeal, we may notice by the Journals of the Commons, that in the month following a Committee was appointed, "to consider of the imprisonment of such persons who continue committed for conscience sake, and how and in what manner they are and continue committed,

Speaker of the House. The said papers were presented by certain persons commonly called Quakers. —

A brief account of what passed in the House on this occasion, drawn up from *Burton's Diary*, and from the *Journals of the House*, is subjoined.

One of the Members opened the business by the following remarks:—

Col. Grosvenor. 'I took notice of a great number of people called Quakers in the Hall yesterday and to-day. I wish you would take some course with the Petition that has laid a long time before you; and that they be dispersed.' Another member moved that they be whipped home as vagrants. The petition was at length read. Several members then made a variety of remarks; several are against them, some appear to be in favour of them, or the release of their imprisoned brethren; others were for referring their grievances to a committee; another, that the county members should refer their case to the justices to inquire into their grievances. At length the House resolves, 'That the answer to be given to the persons that presented this paper is, that this House hath read their paper, and the paper thereby referred to; and doth declare their dislike of the scandal thereby cast upon magistracy and ministry; and doth therefore order, that they and other persons concerned, do forthwith resort to their respective habitations, and there apply themselves to their callings, and submit themselves to the laws of the nation, and the magistracy they live under.' It was moved that two or three of them be called in. From the Journals of the House, '16th April,' it appears, 'that Thos. Moor, John Crook, and Edward Byllyng were brought in to the bar,' the Sergeant having taken off their hats, and the aforesaid answer was declared to them by the Speaker.

together with the whole cause thereof, and how they may be discharged; and to report the same to the Parliament.” (*Journals under 10th of May, 1659.*) Of this committee the Earl of Pembroke and Vane, (names mentioned in these Letters) were members.]

The following Letters doubtless allude to this Committee.

THOMAS RAWLINSON TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 11th of 3rd Month, [5th mo.] 1659.

DEAR HEART,

MY dear love in the Lord Jesus dearly salutes thee, and all the lambs and babes of Christ with thee.

I believe thou hast heard what turnings and changes have been here at London: the Parliament began to sit again the last Seventh-day, and they sat on the First-day.* There is something expected to be done from them. Friends have this day delivered the paper of sufferings into the House, and it is referred to a committee. The army pretends to put all wicked men out of places and offices: if they do as they say, it is more than is expected. They searched many houses last First-day at night for r—— [*word not clear*] and papists, and took some prisoners.

Thy dear Brother in the Truth of God,

Thomas Rawlinson.

[*From the original, apparently.*]

* The following is the entry for this day in the Journals of the House of Commons.

“Lord’s day, 8th of May, 1659. The House met this morning [eight o’clock;] and spent it in praying and hearing the word, Dr. Owen praying and preaching before them.

ROBERT BENBRICK TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 21st of 4th Month, [6th mo.] 1659.

— FRIENDS' sufferings were yesterday taken into consideration at Westminster, and grievous things were declared against the priests, and did enter into the hearts of some of the Committee; we made them shake their heads, and grieved them; they said, they would have some of the priests up to London, and they would examine them about those things.

Robert Benbrick.

[*From the original, apparently.*]

No. XXVIII.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 22nd of 4th mo. [6th mo.] 1659.

EVER DEAR AND TRULY BELOVED SISTER.

THOUGH for sometime I have been silent, yet my dear and true love is unto thee, and my heart is knit unto thee in an inseparable bond.—My love is enlarged towards you all; and though in body I be absent from you, yet in the Lord I am present with you. Oh! how good and precious a thing it is to be kept in the love of Truth: the Lord strengthen and preserve all his, faithful unto the end.

Things in this city generally are well, and Truth

is of good dominion : and truly this I may say, that never since I knew the Truth, was the service greater ; a mighty thirst, and desire, and openness are in many people in most places, especially since the change of the government ; and the work is very great, and labourers, who are true and faithful, are but few, as thou well knows : and this I see, that the more we labour, the more work we have. But the Lord is our strength, and willing I am to spend and be spent for the Lord's sake.

The committee of Parliament are most of them very moderate, and examine things very fully ; and whether they do anything or nothing as to the enlargement of Friends, it is serviceable that the wickedness of greedy and covetous men are brought to light. Much cannot be expected of men in that nature ; for though there be a change of name, yet the old nature is still standing,—earth enough there is to make another mountain : but whatever the consequence be, this I know and feel, that Truth hath great advantage, and an open door is further made for spreading the Truth abroad. The Lord prosper his work, and carry it on to his own praise and glory.

G. F. and E. B. came to this city on last Fifth day, and much service they have had in Kent and other parts ; as for E. B.'s service in Dunkirk, I leave it to his own declaration by his letters to Kendal.* G.F. is well, as J. R. [Isabel Rouse(?)] can inform thee, who went out of this city the last week ; it is like she may be with thee before the receipt of this. My love is to her and to Bridget,

* See Sewel under date 1659 ; E. Burrough was accompanied by Samuel Fisher.

Sarah* and the rest. My love reacheth unto you all, and Friends that way.

In dearness of love unto thee I rest, and remain
Thy dear brother in the service of the Lord.

A. P.

G. Whitehead and Edward Burrough remember their love to thee and thy family. Here are many Friends out of the country in this city, as Gerv. Benson, A. Pearson, Thomas Aldam and divers others. They deliver the subscription against tithes, &c., to-morrow if they can, to Parliament.†
[*torn.*]

[*From the Original.*]

No. XXIX.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 21st of 9th mo. [11th mo.] 1659.

DEAR SISTER,

IN the unfeigned love of the Truth I salute thee;
—and the dear love from the fountain of my

* Isabel, Bridget and Sarah, daughters of Margaret Fell.

† It should have been stated before, (at pages 1, 2 and 10,) in reference to G. Benson's and A. Pearson's being justices, &c.,—that they sat as magistrates "at the Sessions at Appleby, January 1652," when James Nayler was examined on his indictment (with G. Fox and Francis Howgill) upon a charge of blasphemy. On which occasion, Justice Pearson ordered their hats to be

life doth freely issue forth unto all the Lord's flock with thee; being dearly related unto them all in the spirit of love and life, of which our heavenly Father hath made us all partakers; that we may feel and know and be refreshed in one another,—that our joy may be full.—The work is here increasing daily, and meetings are now all over the city pretty peaceable from disturbance. As for the officers of the army here, they bring little forth that is good unto any perfection; they talk and debate of things, but that is the most they do. As for tithes they debate about them, sometimes talking of selling them; and how to provide a maintenance for a ministry they are in great consultation: sometimes they tell of reducing the 9000 parishes in England into 3000, and so to have some certain ministers, who shall be the State's ministers, and the State to pay them; and they spend their time in talking of such things. But some of the heads of them are deceitful in pride and ambition, and seek themselves and not the good of others; though some of the inferiors have honest intents if they could bring them to pass. I have been oftentimes with some of them, as Colonel Rich, Colonel Ashfield, Henry Vane and others; they are pretty open to hear counsel, and do profess to stand for good things. Colonel Rich,* hath been very serviceable for Friends in this late committee, and is

put off, and then proceeded to question J. Nayler; it is stated that "Justice Pearson was convinced at this Sessions by J. Nayler, *as he sat on the bench, as one of his judges.*" It is well known A. P. became the author of that approved work, "The Great Case of Tithes."—*J. Nayler's Works*, p. 11—16.

* Colonel Rich was member of Parliament which sat in the spring of this year.

bold to speak for truth and righteousness amongst them; but he and Vane and the rest of those that would do something, are rejected; and the chief leaders among them dare not bring anything to vote, because that the general part of the inferior officers would have liberty and honest things. Colonel Rich declared among them, how that many of our Friends were in prison again since the Parliament was dissolved; and how that the Parliament had done more for the liberty of tender consciences than they had done; and he did move it to them to appoint a committee for the same purpose, to free those that suffered for conscience sake; and many of them said it was good; but they put it off, and would not do it —.

I desire to hear from thee as thou finds freedom in the Lord.

Thy dear Brother, &c.

R. Hubberthorne.

[*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*]

No. XXX.

HENRY FELL TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 7th of 12mo. 1659. [2nd mo. 1660.]

M. F. my dearly beloved in the Lord, my soul greets thee, and honours thee.—

G. F. and Friends here are generally well; but General Monk's soldiers begin to be rude concerning Friends' meetings. John Scafe is come to town,

and went yesterday to the meeting in the Palace-yard at Westminster; but soon after he began to speak, they began to pull Friends out of the house violently, and beat them very sore, and would not suffer any of them to stay in the house; yea, they beat and abused Friends exceedingly in the streets. I came there when they had hailed almost all Friends out, and scattered them; and they pulled me out, and beat me much, and knocked me down in the street, and tore all my coat. Edward Billing and his wife were much abused, he especially. I hear he went presently and wrote to the Parliament, and acquainted some of them with their usage, and that he would endeavour to lay it before General Monk and the rest.—Great distractions and disaffections there are in people, as things now stand; but to them that fear the Lord and wait upon him, all things will turn to their good.

Thy brother,

Henry Fell.

[From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.]

No. XXXI.

[THE following letter is transcribed from an ancient manuscript, probably a copy; it is without date, and is endorsed 'E. B.'s letter to W. M.' the contents of the letter are rather circumstantial, and carry with them all the appearance of authenticity. As regards the date, it may be observed, that the preceding letter of Henry Fell, which alludes to the same circumstances, decides

the period at which it was written; and the following quotation from the *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, seems to fix the date of the letter, and perhaps even the name of its writer, viz :—Edward Billing.

“February 7th, 1660. [*corresponding with 7th of 12th mo. 1659.*] To the Hall [Westminster;] when in the Palace [Yard,] I saw Monk’s soldiers abuse Billing and all the Quakers, that were at a meeting place there: and indeed the soldiers did use them very roughly, and were to blame.”] [*Diary of S. Pepys*, vol. i. p. 13.]

E. B. to W. M.

DEAR W. M.,

—OH! my dear heart, for ever blessed be His eternal name, who hath called us, and thought us worthy to testify, or in any measure to suffer, for his name’s sake; who is, and was, and is to come, and is already come, and who is over all!

Since General Monk’s coming to London with his army, we have been very much abused in our meetings; as in the Palace Yard, we were pulled out by the hair of the head, kicked, and knocked down, both men and women, in such a manner not here to be expressed. Many were the knocks, and blows, and kicks, myself and wife received; and this was done by General M.’s foot, who came into the meeting with sword and pistol, being, as they said, bound by an oath to leave never a sectarian in England; saying, that they had order from their lord Monk, to pull us out of our meeting; which with inexpressible cruelty they did. The meeting in the Palace Yard I suppose thou knowest. After they

had beat us in the house with their swords in their scabbards, whips and such like, out they drag and kick us into the kennel before the door, where many a blow I received, being in particular knocked and kicked, quite through the Palace Yard, even to the Hall door. Being got within the Hall, after a little recovery, I was moved of the Lord to write a little note to the Speaker in the House,—Parliament being then sitting. So soon as I got into the lobby, I sent into the House for Sergeant Chidleton, who came to me, and I gave him the note, laying it upon him to give it to the Speaker, which he did, and it was forthwith read in the House, publicly; when an enemy stands up and says, the multitude were appeased, &c.—I passed through the multitude back again to the meeting house, [when they] again fell upon me the second time, as before; and in my passing back to my own lodging, they spared me not, but fell upon me, crying, ‘Kill him.’—saying, I was the ringleader and captain of the rogues.—We afterwards met Colonel Rich, who was much affected to see and hear of our usage; with whom I passed through the Palace Yard again, the soldiers and multitude being just then beating a woman of the house at the door; and plundering the house, notwithstanding [it had been said] that the tumult was appeased. At last I passed to Whitehall, where General M. was; with whom I had present audience: in a few words, I laid the whole matter before him, and told him that the soldiers said, they had his order for it. He might say, they had not. I answered, that since he and his army had come to town, we could not pass the streets without very much abuse; having been not so much abused these many years, nay I say, never by soldiers.

I do not give thee this ample account of my abuse, as if it were greater than others; for several Friends were as badly used as myself.

So Friends in New England are executed: * the third upon the ladder bore a precious testimony for the living God.

The Parliament have declared that the priests' maintenance shall be by way of tithes; and that they will govern according to law.—Till now, they pretended to regulate the law at the least, and that the priest should have his tithes till another maintenance could be found; but those in the House who had any reasonableness in them, before their interruption, are now become as bad as men can well be; except N. Rich, Henry Smith, F. Pirne, [or Prynne] and Pembroke, [*probably* Earl of] who was the only person who moved for liberty of conscience; being not seconded by one man, (N. R. not being there,) closing his speech with these words, 'Mr. Speaker, I suppose what I have offered to you, will be but as a cup of cold water.'

General Monk hath broke down the gates of London, which (it is like) was beyond his judgment, to which (it is said) he was, as it were, betrayed; for saying merrily at the Council one night, (it is said,) that the City would not be conformable till their gates were pulled down, or the like, Haslerig [went] to the House on the morrow and informed the House it was General Monk's desire, the Council having sent him an order the night before to do it: but upon A. H. [Arthur Haslerig's] report, it was confirmed.—After all this he marches out of the City to Whitehall, and brings his army

* '27th October, 1659.' *Gough's History*.

back with him. The next day he calls a Council of his own officers distinct, and into the City he marches again with his army, without the consent of the Parliament; but they were forced to be quiet, and glad they could be so. The City received him and his with great acclamation,—bells ringing, and bonfires all the night, the like I believe hath hardly been seen. But for all this, to this day neither the City nor Parliament are certain of him. He is now no more than one of the Commissioners, his commission as General being expired the 11th of this month: yet he hath sent for the Irish brigade by his own order, to march to him; and he still continues in the City. Writs and qualifications are ready for the filling up of the House, and it is said, they are to go forth tomorrow: but at present it is more like the secluded members will come in, the whole [country (?)] is for them or a free Parliament. Fairfax and the rest of the great ones in that County, [York (?)] have declared for the free parliament or the secluded members; without the one they declare to pay no taxes. Norfolk and Suffolk are in association with them of Yorkshire, and Wales is in the like posture: their regiments are formed or forming in Yorkshire. Fast will God's hand be upon this Parliament, as it was upon those unclean hypocrites at Wallington House; who did what in them lay against God, and whatsoever might be called [of] God. Lambert is not yet come in, according to the Parliament's order; but hath sent a letter to the Speaker, the purport whereof is, (as it is said,) desiring to have their order to live quietly at home, or a pass to go beyond the seas.—Ludlow is impeached in the House; but as yet nothing is done

against him, and he sits in the House. Sharp and terrible will the hour of persecution [?] yet be. —As thou hast freedom, salute me dearly to Friends; and let such as stand, take heed lest they fall; for I am confident we shall again be tried, so as by fire.

Henry Vane and Salway are secluded the House, and Salway committed to the Tower, but hath obtained favour to go to his own house in Oxfordshire. Vane is committed to Raby Castle [*his own residence*,] and is gone the second time; for he was upon his journey, and came back again; at which General Monk took exceptions; so he was again ordered into the hands of the Sergeant at Arms, who conveyed him out of London some days since. — Fleetwood and those worst of men in combination with him, viz: Sydenham, Desborough, Packer, and others, are only dismissed, and at the present connived at; and so is Owen.

Friends are in general preciousely kept in the life; and I may truly say, are refreshed in this hour of persecution.*

No. XXXII.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 20th of 1st mo. [3rd mo.] 1660.

DEAR SISTER,

OUR meetings at present are peaceable and quiet, though we have had rudeness by some soldiers and

* The reader must be referred to the Historical Works and Chronicles of the day for illustrations respecting the

disturbance. I was moved to write something to Monk [General] about it, upon which he gave out a few words as an order to the officers and soldiers, which did stop them for the present from their rage.* I intend to stay in the city about two weeks, and then pass towards Suffolk and Norfolk, and then towards Yorkshire. F. H., Samuel Fisher and Joseph Stubbs, are in the city.

Thy dear Brother,

Richard Hubberthorne.

[From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.]

No. XXXIII.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 29th of 3rd mo. [5th mo.] (1660.)

DEAR BROTHER,

SINCE I wrote unto thee last week, our meetings have been quiet and very full. G. F. (George

curious details of events in London contained in this letter; Mackintosh's History of England may be looked into with advantage with that view.

* This order of General Monk, is given in *Sewell's History*: it has been found among the Swarthmore Collection of MMS., as follows:

‘St. James, 9th of March.

‘I doo require all officers and souldiers to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the Parliament or Commonwealth of England.’

‘George Monk.’

Fox, jun.) was brought up to this city the last week upon the Fifth day, and is prisoner at Lambeth House, and Robert Grassingham, who was brought up with him; they are not yet called, (*summoned* (?)) but there remain.* I have been twice with them in prison: and I visited some officers of the army there, with whom I had good service, as Major Brayman, Allen, and Courtney, who are there prisoners: and Colonel Rich I have been with,—he is at liberty; he is pretty low and sensible, and sees that all will be separated into two,—that is, either to join to the truth, or to the prophane: he was the last First day at our meeting in the Strand. Several who have had an honest principle stirring in them, begin to be bowed under towards the Truth; but the wickedness in this city is so great, that it is past expression; and everywhere in the nation it abounds as a flood; and Friends everywhere pass in the hazard of their lives and of great sufferings. Stephen Crisp hath passed through much suffering at Peterborough, Norwich, and other places, and is now at Colchester. John Moon and William Alan, have been sore abused at Cambridge, and W. A. is sore bruised. Josiah Coale is prisoner at Leicester, and put in the marshal's hands, where he is very hardly used: he lieth upon some stoles [*stones* (?)] and his food is only bread and beer: he desired that thou might know of it. Alexander Parker is prisoner at Nantwich in Cheshire, and is in the marshal's hand; he was taken out of a meeting at Northwich; but the marshal is pretty loving to him. It is only the power of the Lord God, that pre-

* See a full account of this affair in *Sewell's History* under this date.

serves us here in this city from the rage of the wicked, which is very high. [At] our meeting this day at Westminster in the morning, the people were very rude, and had almost broken the meeting; but afterwards some soldiers came, and did quiet the rude [people] and set a guard at the door; and so the meeting was kept quiet, and ended quiet.

This day did King Charles and his two brethren James and Henry come into this city: Charles is of a pretty sober countenance; but the great pride and vanity of those that brought him in, is inexpressible; and he is in danger to be brought [or wrought] to those things, which he in himself is not inclined unto. The great excess and abomination that hath been used this day in this city, is inexpressible.*

I know not as yet when I shall come from this city; for the service is very great.

R. H.

[*From the Original.*]

No. XXXIV.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 24th of 5th mo. [7th mo.] 1660.

DEAR BROTHER,

As concerning what is done here, M. F. [Margaret

* See the Letter dated the 7th and 8th of this month in W. Caton's Life, pages 87, 88, (SELECT SERIES) for a further description of the state of things in London at this time.

Fell] hath wrote to thee.* Our meetings here are very full and quiet, and increase daily; and there is great service. I showed J. Nayler thy letter, wherein thou mentions a former letter concerning his going to Bishopricks; but he received none before: he doth remember his dear love to thee, and doth desire to hear from thee by the next post, whether any thing of that be upon thee concerning him. But at present here is a great service for him, and several great ones have a desire to hear him at Woodcock's; he hath been there some First days, and it is upon him to be there yet more. We have drawn some from that meeting, because it was so full, and many that are great in the outward resort thither. There is a meeting at Elizabeth Trott's at

* It appears from George Fox's *Journal*, that Margaret Fell, about this time, went to London, to intercede with the King on behalf of George Fox, who had been taken prisoner at her house, and forcibly carried away to Lancaster Castle. He was, not long afterwards, released by order of the King, having been permitted on his word only, to travel up to London, to appear before the judges. (See G. F.'s *Journal*, 1660.)

Margaret Fell also delivered a letter to the King, with her own hands, in the 5th month of this year, after he had issued a proclamation to bring to trial those who were instrumental in taking away his father's life. In this letter she reminds him, how the Lord had brought him again into this nation, without shedding of blood or revengings; she, therefore, wished him to consider this, and not to look to those that would incense him to revenge, which is not according to the will of God, nor good for the King; whose best way was, to show mercy and forgiveness, and to commit his cause to God; "and to be clear of all men's blood, and to let every one enjoy the liberty of their consciences to that worship they dare trust their souls under," &c. She also addressed other letters to him about this period.—*Margaret Fell's Works*.

Pall Mall, where many come in; where M. F. hath been two First days.*

R. Hubberthorne.

[*From the original.*]

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

London, 31st of 5th mo. [7th mo.]

DEAR BROTHER,

MY dear love is to thee. As for that book thou mentions, which is against us, which was in the news-book, it is answered, and the answer printed twelve days since; some of them are given abroad in Whitehall, and others of them are sold in divers shops, and some of the women cry them about the streets: so that the Truth is over it, though it is one of the baddest books that have yet been written against the Truth.† There is a paper of queries come to us from the Papists, (who are now creeping up,) which is answered.

All things here are pretty well, and our meetings are daily increased in largeness, and all quiet.

Thou writes, that one Seventh day thou didst not receive any letters; but at that time there were several letters sent to thee, both from M. F. and me; and also the last week we wrote to thee, and have not missed any week, but have written to thee.

* "One Elizabeth Trott, having received the Truth gave up her house, which was towards the end of Pall Mall, near James's house, for a meeting."—*Life of Gilbert Latcy.*

† This book is probably that dedicated to the King by one Blome, entitled *The Fanatick History*. (See *Sewell*.—Index.) R. Hubberthorne and J. Nayler wrote '*A Short Answer*' to it. (See *Whiting's Catalogue*.)

—E. B. [Edward Burroughs,] is at Bristol; to some he writes of his going to Ireland shortly;—he hath sent two letters to the King privately, but we have not seen them.

R. Hubberthorne.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

London, 7th of 6th mo. [8th mo.] 1660.

DEAR BROTHER,

I RECEIVED thy letters last week, and shall get thy letter to the King and Parliament copied shortly; and afterwards it may be printed. All things here concerning the Truth are well, and our meetings are very large in every place here, and quiet.—George Whitehead is here, and doth remember his dear love to thee.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'R. Hubberthorne'. The signature is written in dark ink and features a large, sweeping initial 'R' and a long, horizontal flourish extending to the right.

[This Friend died in Newgate about two years after the date of this letter: the following is a copy of the entry respecting him in the *London Register of the Burials of Friends*:—"Richard Hubberthorne laid down the body in the time of his imprisonment in Newgate, being the 17th day of 6th month, 1662, and by the *coroner's inquest* was found to die naturally, and was interred in the burial ground aforesaid," [Bunhill Fields.]

In a register book of Yealand meeting in Lancashire, was found a short account respecting Richard Hubberthorne, who was a native of that village;

he is there described to be one of the first messengers that declared the Truth in that part. After stating that he was imprisoned some months in Chester gaol, the account proceeds to say, that he was sent away from that City by the mayor and justices under warrant, "to be had from constable to constable till he came to Yealand, the place of his nativity. The first constable was Richard Sale of Oule, *who by him was convinced*: [he] burned the warrant, and set him at liberty."* R. Hubberthorne was afterwards imprisoned at Congleton; also at Cambridge and at Norwich, and there remained several months. Coming thence to London he "had much exercise with many great ones, and with the King, &c. So after much labour and travail in England and Wales for nine years, he was imprisoned by Richard Brown, a great persecutor (mayor of the City of London,) in Newgate prison; where he was thronged in the heat of summer. Here he finished his testimony, sealing it with his blood, dying a martyr for Jesus, the 17th day of the 6th mo. 1662."]

No. XXXV.

ELLIS HOOKES† TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 11th of 6th mo. [8th mo.] 1660.

DEAR G. F.

As concerning the sufferings, they have been all

* Richard Sale was the Friend who died in consequence of his torturing confinement in Chester gaol, in a cell called Little-ease: (See *Sewell's History*—Index *Sale*.)

† Ellis Hookes was employed in London as a recording

sent up (except Scotland) long since; about eighteen counties have sent up copies, which are done, some in books and some in papers, in good order: most that are come, are [from] Western counties. Now the chief cause of my writing is, to know whether they should be printed, or whether thou wouldst have them wrote in a great book for to be kept? Now I am not so much employed, but that I may settle to write them, if thou thinkest fit, which I am free to do: or [whether] thou thinkest Thomas Forster may do them, who I believe would do them better? yet I am very free, and may take as much care as I can, to do them well: and for the placing of the counties, which shall be put first, it may be as thee orders. There is only Lincolnshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire, sent up as yet of the Northern counties; so, if thou thinkest necessary, they may be sent to, to send them up. My dear love is unto thee.

Ellis Hookes.

[*From the original.*]

‘For G. F. in Lancaster.’

[These accounts of sufferings were written into large folio volumes, which are still preserved among the Society’s records in London, and are continued down to the present day in 40 volumes. They were begun by Ellis Hookes, whose clear and excellent handwriting extends over a large portion of the first of these bulky folios. To the narratives of sufferings and persecutions, were added accounts of what were

clerk to the Society: the Editor regrets he has not met with more of his letters, which were, doubtless, very numerous to Margaret Fell, George Fox, &c., and chiefly upon affairs of interest and importance to the Society, as they transpired in London.

regarded as judgments upon persecutors; which were doubtless in that day ordered to be recorded, under a sense of the fear of God, and in testimony unto His over-ruling power.]

No. XXXVI.

MARGARET FELL TO HER CHILDREN.*

London, 25th of 8th mo. [10th mo.] 1660.

MY DEARLY BELOVED LAMBS AND BABES,

My love is to you all; [and] my prayer to the Lord is for you all, that in his arm and power you may be kept in the bosom of his love, there to be nursed and cherished up to eternal life.

G. F. is now freed, blessed be the Lord God, (whose arm and power alone has done it,) after he had appeared before the judge who sent for him up; then he appeared before the Lord Chief Justice of England in his chamber; and the next day he appeared before them all in open court, in the King's Bench; and all this after the King had granted out an order to set him free: but they would not set him free, till he had appeared in all these

* She was then a widow, and had one son, also seven daughters; whose names were Margaret, (who married John Rouse,) Bridgett (married to John Draper,) Isabell, Sarah (who married William Meade,) Mary (married to Thomas Lower,) Susanna (by marriage afterwards Ingram,) and Rachel (who married Daniel Abraham.)

places, to see if any thing would come against him. It was of great service for the Truth.*

I cannot write at present punctually the time of my return, for I do feel that I am not [yet clear, (*torn*)] of this place ; but still do wait for the Lord's [will and (*torn*)] pleasure and his time to be manifested to me : and [may (*torn*)] you rest satisfied in that ; for *there* is everlasting [peace], and *there* you will enjoy me. I do not know how suddenly the Lord may give me my freedom to come home ; but when it is, I shall embrace it lovingly. Let me hear of the little ones, how it is with them all, (you mention a little of them when you write ;) and my desire is to hear of you all, and of your well-being in the Lord. It may be you have heard ere this, that J. N. hath finished his natural life, and hath laid down his body of earth about threescore miles off London.†

So no more, but my love in the Lord Jesus is with you ; and as soon as the Lord gives me

* The judge's warrant for his discharge, is dated on the day of the date of this letter, and it is addressed to the marshal of the King's Bench : George Fox was thus set at liberty after having been a prisoner more than twenty weeks in Lancaster Castle. He states in his *Journal*, that terror took hold of the justice of Lancashire (Porter), by whom he had been committed, though innocent of any just charge : "he was afraid I would take the advantage of the law against him for my wrong imprisonment : —and indeed I was pressed by some in authority to make him and the rest examples ; but I said I should leave them to the Lord ; if the Lord forgave them, I should not trouble myself with them."—*Journal*, 1660.

† James Nayler died in Huntingdonshire ; the following is a copy of the burial register of Friends in Huntingdonshire : "James Nayler, buried 21st of 8th month, 1660, at Ripton Regis, in Huntingdonshire."

leave, I shall return. The eternal arm of the Almighty be with you.

M. F.

[*From the original.*]

No. XXXVII.

[TOWARDS the latter part of this year, (1660,) Friends in London were very assiduous in interceding with the King on behalf of their suffering brethren, so many of whom were enduring grievous confinement in the prisons of the country. George Whitehead informs us;—"Their innocency was pleaded before him, [the King,] as being a peaceable people, and not having forfeited their interest in his promise of liberty to tender consciences in matters of religion: some of our Friends at London reminded him thereof; and by solicitations and frequent complaints of our persecutions and hardships, he [the King] was induced to issue his proclamation of grace, for our releasement out of the prisons. Howbeit, the [said proclamation] also contained a menace or threat in it, that impunity was not intended us, if we continued to practice as we had done, *i. e.* upon the score of religion.*—*Christian Progress. p. 260.*

* The following is a copy of the minute of the Council Board respecting Friends' complaints:

"*Friday, Nov. 23rd (1660)*—[*corresponds with 9th mo.*]

"WHITEHALL, COUNCIL BOARD.

"It is this day ordered, [the King] being present, that the Lord Steward, [with six other members of the

It should be stated, that about this period endeavours appear to have been used to reconcile ecclesiastical differences in the State generally ; for a Royal declaration was issued from the Council, dated 25th of October, 1660 [8th mo.] “ concerning ecclesiastical affairs,” in which the King expresses his desire to compose those differences, and to remove abuses. In this document, he again renews what he formerly proclaimed in his “ declaration from Breda” for the liberty of tender consciences,—“ that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom.”—(*Royal Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, &c. Lord Somers’ Tracts*, vol. xi. p. 16.*

Board] or any three of them, be a Committee to consider of the papers and addresses of the Quakers ; and to prepare such a proclamation or declaration thereupon, as they shall think fit to be offered to [the King] concerning them ; as also to examine, where any of the said persons are imprisoned, for what causes they were committed, what times they have been under restraint, and what will be fit to be done for their enlargement ; and hereof to make report to the Board.” The business being followed up, a Royal Proclamation was prepared and issued ; from which the following is an extract :

“ January 25th, 1661. [11th mo. 1660.] Whereas very many persons, commonly known by the name and appellation of Quakers, have been lately taken and imprisoned, as persons opposite to [the King’s] government ; [the King] was graciously pleased to order in Council, that the Lord Mayor of the City of London should release all, or so many of them, now prisoners within his liberties, as are not ringleaders or preachers amongst them, or have not any particular charge against them ; they, the said Quakers engaging themselves henceforward to live obediently according to law.”—*Kennel’s Chronicle*, p. 318 and 364.

* So far did matters appear about this time to turn in

In *Servell's History* will be found some interesting particulars of what passed during an interview, which Richard Hubberthorne had with the King about this time. G. Fox also mentions in his Journal, that Thomas Moore and Margaret Fell were often engaged to intercede with the King on the same account.

Among the Swarthmore Collection of MSS. has been found the following narrative of an interview had by Thomas Moore with the King, which it is believed has not been before printed : it is endorsed by G. Fox, "What the King said to T. Moore. 1660, 14th of 10 mo."*]

'SOMETHING THAT PASSED BETWIXT THE KING
AND ME, THOMAS MOORE OF HARTSWOOD, IN
THE COUNTY OF SURREY.'

14th of 10th mo. [12th mo.] 1660.

AFTER that I, with other Friends, had presented favour of general liberty of conscience, that the above Royal declaration was even embodied into a Bill, which was brought into the House of Commons the 28th of November, [9th mo.] of this year 1660; but it was negatived on the second reading, being opposed by *one of the King's Secretaries of State*; such was the uncertainty or vacillation (if no worse,) displayed in this important object. But plots arose soon after, and most especially that of the Fifth Monarchy men, which put an end to all further proceedings or professions for general liberty of conscience; and most probably those plots were made the pretext for the adoption, in the course of the next year, of the severe measures against non-conformists, and chiefly against Friends.

* Respecting Thomas Moore, G. Fox, in his Journal writes; "At Reigate, Friends told me of one Thomas Moore, a justice of peace, that lived not far from Reigate, and was a friendly moderate man : whereupon I went to visit him at his house, and he came to be a serviceable man in the Truth." [1655.]

our sufferings to the King and several particular members of his Council, and after several days waiting upon them for answer, the King was pleased, with a great part of his Council, to grant us an order; and chose a committee to examine our papers and sufferings. After some weeks that we had waited and solicited those members who were chosen to hear our business, we had many promises from them that we should be heard, and likewise have relief. So upon the aforesaid day of the 10th month, we being, as our manner was, waiting in the lobby at the Council Chamber door, the King and his whole Council being there sat, (as we have heard since, by some of them that were of the Council;) there was a debate amongst them whether I should be called in with my hat on, for they said I would not take it off myself; others said it might be taken off gently by the door-keeper, or the clerk: but the King said, by no means, it should not be taken off, except I took it off myself; none other should take it off. Whereupon after some time I was called in; and when I was within the room a pretty way, and saw the King at the head of the table with the rest of the Council, I made a stop, not knowing but that I might give offence: when one of the Council spoke to me and said, "you may go up; it is the King's pleasure that you may come to him with your hat on." So I went up near to the King, and said, "Is this the King?" And they said, "Yes." I looked upon him, and he upon me; and I spoke the word of the Lord to him as it rose in me,—concerning the goodness and the mercy of the Lord to him,—for the space of a quarter of an hour, and was not interrupted; but they were all silent, till I was clear.

When I had done speaking, the King asked me

what I would have of him. I said, "O King, our meetings, which are kept in God's fear, are by the will of evil rulers and rude people, many times broken up,— we are hailed, beaten, bruised, and trod upon by the said people; who are countenanced by such magistrates, who in their wills cause us many times to be haled out, sent to prison, and kept there contrary to law and thy declaration sent from Breda, and since revived; in which thou didst promise we should not be disturbed, nor called in question, for things pertaining to our consciences." Then the King answered me; "God forbid, you, living in God's fear, should be wronged, and that your meetings should be disturbed; for it is my mind that you should enjoy your meetings peaceably, and be protected, living peaceably and quietly in the kingdom." Then I said, "Some of us are indicted for not coming to the steeple house." The King answered, "You shall not be indicted for not coming to the church." Then I said, "What thou speakest here within these walls, may not relieve us; for the magistrates in the kingdom may not take notice what thy mind is here, and so possibly we may not enjoy what is in thy heart towards us, except thy pleasure be signified to the kingdom by proclamation, or declaration." To which the King answered, "You shall enjoy your meetings without disturbance, you shall see it, so long as you live peaceably; leave it to me."

By what the King said there, we do expect that something may be done for us; for he bade us stay awhile, and we should see.

Thomas Moore.

[George Fox, in his Journal under date about this period, says, "There seemed at [this] time an

inclination and intention in the government to grant Friends liberty; because they were sensible that we had suffered, as well as they, under the former powers. But still, when any thing was going forward in order thereto, some dirty spirit or other, that would seem to be for us, threw something in the way to stop it. It was said, there was an instrument drawn up for confirming our liberty, and that it only wanted signing; when on a sudden, that wicked attempt of the Fifth Monarchy people broke out, and put the city and nation in an uproar."

—After this event, G. F. and his Friends drew up "A Declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters and fighters in the world," &c., which was presented to the King on the 21st of the 11th mo. 1660 (called January 1661).—His Journal may be consulted further for this eventful period.]

No. XXXVIII.

ON THE PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT RESPECTING THE BILL AGAINST FRIENDS IN 1661.

[NOTWITHSTANDING the earnest solicitations of Friends with the King, in the early part of this year (soon after the Fifth Monarchy plot) a Royal proclamation was issued forth against "all unlawful meetings under pretence of religious worship;" in which "Quakers" were expressly named; setting forth that "they do meet in great

numbers, at unusual times, &c., by reason whereof they begin to *boast of their multitudes*, and to increase in their confidences," &c.—all such persons are to be bound over or imprisoned, and the oath of allegiance tendered to them.—*Kennet*, p. 357.

On the 11th of the month, called May, of this year, on the occasion of the King's coronation, another Royal proclamation was however issued, to discharge such Friends who had been imprisoned under an Act of James 1st, as well as for refusing the oath, or for meeting contrary to the late proclamation, without the payment of fees. But in five days only from the date of this proclamation, (proving that there existed a strong party in the State in favour of persecution,) a Committee was appointed in the House of Commons "to prepare and bring in a Bill to prevent the ill consequences to the government, by Quakers and others refusing to take oaths, and numerous and unlawfully convening together; with such penalties as may be suitable to the nature of those offences, and may be profitable to *work upon the humours of such phanaticks*."—*Kennet*, p. 448, *quoting from the Commons' Journals*.

George Whitehead writes as follows on the subject of this cruel Bill, which may be said to be the first attempt to crush the Society by all the force of legislative enactment:—"It was but a short time after we were set at liberty, that we could enjoy our religious meetings quietly; the irreligious persecuting spirit was at work in the nation among priests and magistrates, who would have all compelled to go to church and conform, (as the pretence was,) for all to be of one religion; when there was but little of the life, substance, or

purity of religion designed in the case.—So hasty and precipitant was the persecuting spirit, and eager to be at work, and that too under some colour or pretence of law, that in the first Parliament chosen after the King's restoration, they soon contrived a Bill for suppressing our meetings; and divers of the persons chosen to be members of that Parliament, being known to be persecutors, that party swayed and carried it by vote; in so much that the Bill was committed, and at last passed into an Act, which is entituled: "An Act for preventing mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers and others refusing to take lawful oaths."

After setting forth that certain persons named Quakers, and others, "have taken up and maintained sundry dangerous opinions and tenets; and, among others, that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever, although before a lawful magistrate, is altogether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God," &c. the act proceeds to state further, that "the said persons, under a pretence of religious worship, do often assemble themselves *in great numbers* in several parts of this realm, to the great endangering of the public peace and safety, and to the terror of the people, by maintaining a secret and strict correspondence among themselves, and in the meantime separating and dividing themselves from the rest of his Majesty's good and lawful subjects, and from the public congregations and usual places of divine worship;"—it then enacts, that if five or more Quakers, above sixteen years of age, assemble under pretence of joining in religious worship not authorized by law, "the party convicted shall forfeit, for the first offence,

not exceeding £5, for the second £10, and in default of payment or distraint, for the first offence to be imprisoned three months, for the second six months, and for the third, transportation to any of the King's plantations."

G. Whitehead then proceeds to give an account of the exertions of himself, Edward Burrough, and R. Hubberthorne, before the Committee of Parliament, in pleading against the Bill: the particulars of what passed on the occasion, as given by G. W. (in his *Christian Progress*, p. 262, &c.) are well worthy of perusal, but the whole account is too long to be introduced here. He adds, "Having not a particular or full account in writing, what my friends Edward Burrough and Richard Hubberthorne declared to the Committee, I cannot insert the same with mine; but I remember, the last time we were before the committee, E. Burrough told them to this purport: 'that if they made a law against our religious meetings, he should esteem it his duty to exhort our Friends to keep their meetings diligently.'"

From a private collection of manuscripts, containing many original letters of Edward Burrough, also ancient copies of his papers, &c., the Editor is able to supply E. B.'s narrative of their proceedings upon this memorable occasion: the account is somewhat more circumstantial than that of G. Whitehead, and has not, it is believed, been before published. The torrent of persecution which burst forth against our Friends through the land, after the passing of this Bill against them, and the noble stand they were enabled to make against it, form a very remarkable portion of the history of our Society, and render these detailed accounts particularly interesting.

[The narrative in manuscript is entitled,]

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF
PARLIAMENT CONCERNING THE PEOPLE OF GOD
CALLED QUAKERS.

ACCORDING to the policy of the men of this world which worketh in this generation against the righteous seed of God, to subdue it, as ever it did in ages past against the same seed ;—thus it came to pass. The 26th day of the 3rd month last, called May, (which was not many days after the Parliament came together) it was moved by a certain member of the House of Commons, (whose name I shall not now mention,) that whereas the Quakers, as he called them, were a numerous people, and growing more numerous daily,—and upon the King's indulgence and fair promises towards them, especially that proclamation for their release out of all prisons, (which was about three days before that time come forth and published,) were very high and confident; and they met together in great numbers, and were of dangerous consequence, and prevailed much to the seducing of the King's subjects &c. or to this effect: that therefore that House would be pleased to take into consideration, by what way and means to proceed for to check and restrain such their confidence; and to enact somewhat concerning their refusing to take oaths, and their great meetings; or to this effect. Whereupon it was put to the question in the House, and resolved upon the same, that it should be referred to such persons (whom I shall not now nominate) as a Committee, to prepare and bring in a Bill to prevent the ill consequence in government, by the

Quakers, Anabaptists and other schismatics, refusing to take oaths, and numerous and unlawfully convening together,—with such penalties as may be suitable to the nature of those offences, and profitable to work upon the humours of such fanatics. These be the very words of the order.

Accordingly in about six weeks, a Bill was prepared and brought into the House, and read the first and second time; and (as the manner of the House is, in such cases of finishing Bills) was committed to a certain number of persons, (whose names may not now be nominated,) as a Committee to correct and finish the said Bill, and to report concerning the same to the House, in order to its passing into an Act. And accordingly the said Committee met together about the 20th day of the 5th mo. (if I mistake not,) to read and debate the said Bill, &c. And we being not clear in our hearts toward God and to his people, to suffer this wickedness to be carried on without giving our testimony against it, as it passed;—that we might be clear from such their proceedings against the innocent, and that they might be better informed concerning us, and also reproved in their works: therefore we were moved in our hearts, in the wisdom of God to endeavour [to gain] admittance to come before them; shewing the equity of it unto them, that we might better inform them, and show them our reasons against the said Bill. And having made some provision thereunto, by reasoning beforehand with many of the members,—according to our desire, three of us were permitted to come in, and were conducted by one of the members of the said Committee, and before them we appeared in the name and authority of the Lord God:—and after some obstructions as

about our hats, which at last were taken off by one of them, some interrogations were made by them, as what we were, and where we lived, and why, and on what accounts we there appeared, &c. which we gave answers unto. We then had liberty from them to present a manuscript to them, which was received and read; and also we had the liberty to speak something concerning the said Bill, and of the unreasonableness of it, and of the woeful consequences which would follow, if it passed; in brief, we gave our testimony by the Spirit of the Lord against their proceedings, and so we were dismissed their presence, and withdrew; and they proceeded in the business, an exact account of which cannot yet be given.

The next day (as I take it,) the report by the chairman of the said Committee was made to the House; thereupon it was thought fit by them that the said Bill should be recommitted for some amendments, &c.; and accordingly the Committee met again about the 13th of the month aforesaid, (as I remember;) before whom we again obtained the opportunity to appear by some kindness of some of the members of the Committee; and that day we gave full testimony against the said Bill,—that it was unrighteous and unreasonable, &c.—shewing our reasons for the same. And we had much reasoning with them, yet not by way of any capitulation, but by full denial of the whole matter in that case: they were more moderate towards us than the first time of their sitting; and the presence of the Lord was much with us, and some spirits were subjected under the power of the Truth, which at that time was declared in much authority and wisdom, though some of them had

much ado to bear what was then said. The last thing that was said by one of us was,* that if ever this Bill now under debate was finished into an Act to be executed, he was so far from yielding conformity thereunto, that he should (through the strength of Christ) meet among the people of God to worship Him; and not only so, but should make it his business to exhort all God's people everywhere, to meet together for the worship of God, notwithstanding that law and all its penalties, &c.; and he desired this saying might be reported to the House.

So we, having cleared our consciences to them, and left a good witness for Truth upon their spirits, left them and withdrew; and they proceeded in their work that day, and amended the Bill, or rather made it far worse, and more unreasonable than ever, and that against some of their own consciences and reasonable conviction, (as I do believe;) for they formed it that day into this mode, to wit—"That for the third offence of refusing to take oaths being lawfully tendered, and meeting together upon pretence of religion, above the number of five persons out of our own habitations, we were referred to be proceeded against by the statute of 35 Eliz. which is, to abjure the realm, or in case of denial to be proceeded against as felons, without benefit of clergy, &c." About two days after, the Bill with its said new amendments was presented to the House again; upon which a very great debate arose among them, so that the Bill was altered again into a new and more moderate temper, being concluded by many of them to be too severe against us as it was brought in. So the matter was

† It seems this was E. B. himself by G. W.'s account.

sorely debated in the House, and the Bill was framed and passed as follows: viz. "for the first offence of refusing to take an oath lawfully tendered, and for meeting together as aforesaid, being legally convicted by twelve men, or the confession of the party &c. a certain sum should be imposed on us, by them before whom such conviction was made, not exceeding five pounds; and this to be taken by distress, or the person to be committed to the House of Correction or common jail for three months; for the second offence being convicted as aforesaid, the sum imposed should not exceed ten pounds, to be taken in like manner by distress, or the person imprisoned for six months; and for the third offence being convicted as aforesaid, it should be lawful for the King to transplant any such person or persons to any of his plantations beyond the seas: and this [Act] to be commenced from the first of the seventh month next: this was the form of the Bill as it last passed in the House, being altered three or four times before. So it was ordered to be engrossed, and to be brought into the House by such a time for final determination, and to be sent to the upper House.

But it came into our hearts with much zeal for God and his truth, and against this unrighteous thing, and the Lord stirred up the hearts of some of us by his eternal power, [again] to give our witness against it, that we might be clear in our consciences concerning this matter. So for the very cause of God and his truth, we were given up to do and suffer all things; and we did boldly attempt to appear at the bar of their House, that we might give our reasons and clear our hearts against the said Bill, and why it ought not to pass into an Act. To obtain this

our appearance before them, we used divers arguments to many of the members of the House, to procure our admittance; and according to our desire, through the very providence and wisdom of God, when the Bill was read in the House the last time to be finished, we had admittance, by the vote of the House: and after some little debate at the door by some of the members about our hats, the Sergeant came and told us, we might come in with our hats on or off, which we would; so into the House we were conducted by him with our hats on, and within the house near the bar he took them off. Thus at the bar we appeared, in God's fear and authority; and after some queries put to us by the Speaker, to which we answered, and confessed to that favour of admittance to that place, &c. we presented a manuscript to them, which we desired might be received and read by them; and they did receive it by the hands of their Sergeant; and also liberty was given us by the Speaker to say what we had upon us. Accordingly the Lord opened our mouths, and we shewed divers sound reasons unto the House against the aforesaid Bill, and why it ought not to pass into an act;—1st, because of the falsity and unsoundedness of it in its ground; 2ndly, because of the unreasonableness and unjustness of it in itself; and 3rdly, because of the evil effects of it, which must needs follow if it passed. And divers other things were spoken in the name and authority of the God of heaven, as concerning our peaceableness, &c. and of the absolute proper right that belonged to us, both from God and men, to enjoy the liberty of our consciences in the exercise of our religion, &c. And we had a good time to clear our consciences to

them as about that Bill, shewing how it was contrary to the law of Christ, and to the King's promises, and destructive to many thousand good people, &c. They were in much moderation and patience to hear us; and the word of the Lord through us had an effect upon many, to qualify their spirits into sobriety through good information. So having cleared ourselves and left it upon them, we were ordered by the House to withdraw, which we did: and they fell into a very great debate upon the matter; some spake for us, and many against us, and some were neuters; and the debate continued about an hour, before the vote of the House determined the thing. But at last through difficulty among themselves it was finished, and the Bill sent to the upper House there to be read, and passed fit for the King to sign.*

* Extract from Journals of the House of Commons, under date of 19th of 6th mo. 1661:—"A Bill for preventing the mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers and others refusing to take lawful oaths, being engrossed, was this day read a third time. A Petition being tendered on the behalf of certain persons called Quakers by some at the door who go under that notion, who desired to be heard before the said Bill do pass—*Resolved*, That the persons at the door be called in. And the said four persons, namely, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorne, George Whitehead, and Edward Pyot being thereupon permitted to come to the bar of this House, did severally offer what they had to say against the passing of the said Bill; and tendered a printed paper which they desired might be read. After which, they being caused to withdraw, and the House resuming the debate of the said Bill; *Resolved*, That the said Bill do pass: and that the title of the said Bill be, "An Act for preventing the mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers and others refusing to take lawful oaths."

Well, but still the Spirit of the Lord, and a zeal for his truth was upon us, to pursue it with faithful evidence against it, wherever it came; and we gave in some manuscripts amongst the members of the upper House, and divers reasons in writing, &c. and we had hopes to have been heard by them, if they had proceeded. And the Lord made our endeavours effectual in clearing of our consciences, and informing them concerning the innocency of our cause, and the unjust destructiveness of the said Bill. But the God of our peace and happiness by his power put a stop to it in that House, so that the Lords (so called) only read it once in their House, and so laid it by, and proceeded not any further in it then; this was through the goodness of the Lord, to cross and stop the will of many of our adversaries, that seek our destruction: the glory of this present deliverance belongs to the God of heaven, and to him it is given. The Parliament is now adjourned till the 20th of the 9th mo. and nothing effected by them against us, though the aforesaid Bill is still in being against us: and whether they may have power to bring it forth at their next Sessions, I leave that to the Lord; who doeth and suffers to be done whatsoever he will. Let us therefore [have] respect [to] him only, and walk humbly before him; and be in perfect patience to do or suffer any thing for his name sake, and the blessed Truth which he hath given us to profess and practice.

Thus I have in brief given the substance of a relation as to the manner (though not fully as to the matter) of proceedings in the case aforesaid, a particular account as of the divers manuscripts given to them, and verbal speeches and discourses

with them, and of the orders of the House, and other things relating to this business.

Let all Friends walk in meekness and humility, and in faithfulness towards God, and in wisdom and patience and good will towards all men; that so you may all be preserved in a clear conscience, and may deserve a repute for inoffensiveness in all matters among your neighbours; that so no just occasion may be taken against us by our adversaries: but that in their consciences they may be forced to confess to our harmless conversations. And if at any time they will act against us, and cause us to suffer, it may be on their part against knowledge, and on our part for the cause of God only, and for his Truth's sake, and not for evil doing. Keep your meetings in all wisdom and in the fear of the Lord, to the edifying of your souls. And God Almighty preserve you all.

Your friend known to you in the invisible life
of righteousness,

7th mo. 1661.

E. B.

[Along with the foregoing "Brief account," was found (in the same handwriting) a copy of Edward Burrough's "Reasons and considerations against the said Bill, presented to the Lords assembled in Parliament:"—the reasons are drawn up in very forcible language, and are somewhat similar to those presented to the House of Commons; they conclude with the following noble and memorable declaration.]

"This is the perfect state of our case, and an absolute extremity is put upon us, either to disobey the law of God and to deny Christ before

men, and so to destroy our souls, and be ourselves under the wrath of God,—or to disobey your intended law, and so to expose our persons, estates, lives, and families to utter destruction in this world. For the law of God and this law, in the cases mentioned, are plainly opposite one to another; for Christ saith, “Swear not at all,” Matt. v.; and the Apostle James saith, “Above all things, my brethren, swear not; neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay nay, lest ye fall into condemnation.” But this law enjoineth to swear; and every one that refuseth to swear, shall undergo such forfeitures, penalties, and banishments. Whether it is better to obey God’s law or this, and to undergo God’s displeasure or yours for disobedience, judge ye. Also, God hath commanded us to meet together to worship him in spirit and in truth; and the apostle hath exhorted, (Heb. x.) not to forsake the assembling of ourselves together, but to exhort one another; and not to sin in neglect of our duty, upon the penalty of a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation from God; and it was the practice of the primitive Christians to meet together, and sit sometime in private houses: but this law prohibits our meeting together, upon such forfeitures and penalties, even unto banishment. Whether of these two laws are the more just and to be obeyed, let the God of heaven and your own consciences bear witness: if we disobey the one, we gain the wrath of God to the destruction of our souls; and if we disobey the other, we gain the wrath of men to the utter destruction of our families, estates, and lives in this world. This is our present case, and our sad ex-

tremity !—But we are resolved in the name of the Lord to obey God and his righteous laws and commands, though we suffer absolute destruction in this world ; and we will trust the God of heaven with our cause, which is the cause of a good conscience, which is the Lord's and not our own, of Him and not of ourselves ; and we will walk in the ways of His Truth and commandments, and will meet together to worship the Father in spirit and in truth, and exhort one another thereunto for our comfort and edification in the Holy Spirit, notwithstanding any law of man to the contrary : and if, for so doing, we perish,—we perish ! and our blood will be upon our persecutors ; and the reward of our destruction will come upon you, if ye go on passing laws against the law of God, for the persecution and ruin of us his people. We heartily desire you to take this into your consideration, and that the fear and wisdom of God may be amongst you.*

Edward Burrough.”

* In the Journals of the House of Lords occurs the following entries relative to this Bill :—

“1661, May 28th. A petition was presented to this House by some Quakers, which was commanded to be read, and after a long debate it is ordered, that this petition be committed to these Lords following, to consider of a proper remedy *to cure the distempers of these people*, [!] and to report the same to this House : the Lord Privy Seal, [and many others, in all thirty-seven peers, amongst them were the Earls of Pembroke and Anglesey, (names mentioned in these letters ;) also the Earl of Bridgewater, a noted persecutor named in Isaac Pennington's writings.]

“May 31st. The Earl of Pembroke reported from the Committee that were appointed to consider of the Quakers' petition, That the Committee after long debate, were of opinion, that the second proposition in the paper put in by the Quakers concerning ‘yea’ and

[The following letter refers to the progress of this same Bill.]

EDWARD BURROUGH AND E. H. [PROBABLY ELLIS
HOOKES] TO FRIENDS.

London, 24th of 10th Month [12th mo.] 1661.

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS,

IN the life and power and spirit of our heavenly Father, do our souls salute you all ; heartily praying

‘ nay,’ to be taken in lieu of oaths, should be rejected : That the Committee having rejected it, thought fit to offer it as their opinion, that a promissory oath should be tendered to the Quakers, such a one as no good subject can or ought to refuse : That the third proposition concerning respects and putting off of hats, &c., be rejected : That the fourth clause, concerning their not coming to the public worship, and the first being dependent upon it (as to their private meetings,) being too weighty for the determination of the committee, they thought fit to be reported to this House, to be debated by the House. The Committee also is of opinion, that the fifth clause concerning not paying of tithes, &c., be rejected : That the sixth clause concerning their not observing days, meats, &c., having dependence on the fourth concerning public worship, is fit also to be debated by the whole House. That the Committee will consider of the second part of the order [of the House] for a remedy of the distempers of these people, when they have received the resolution of the House concerning the third clause offered to their resolution by the Committee.”

“ July 23rd.” The Bill is read a first time ; but an adjournment of the House takes place. “ Nov. 26th,” it is read a second time, and is committed ; on the Committee, are six bishops (York, London, &c.) The Bill is reported under date of “ Nov. 29th,” with alterations ; is again committed ; is reported once more with amendments “ Dec. 17th,” and again re-committed.—“ 1662,

for you, that peace and blessings and assurance for ever may be continued and increased to you. Dwell and walk in the grace of God, which will keep you pure and perfect : and keep your meetings in the name and spirit of Christ, and the Lord will be amongst you.

As for things here with us in relation to the Truth, they are very well ; and the Truth of God is

Jan. 16th," the Earl of Bridgewater reports upon the Bill ; it is again re-committed and ordered to be made to extend to Quakers only ; " the Committee are to meet to-morrow morning at eight of the clock."—" Jan. 28th," the Bill is again reported, and alterations agreed to ; is read a third time and passed ; and is sent down to the Commons to desire their concurrence in the alterations.—" Feb. 18th, a message from the Commons was brought up to desire a conference upon the Bill touching the Quakers next morning (at eleven of the clock,) in the Painted chamber." The Lord Chancellor reports the result, that the Commons disagree in some points, viz. : " they adhere to the word ' others ' in the title of the Bill, to meet with all others who refuse oaths besides Quakers ; such are some Anabaptists : to leave out the word ' others,' would frustrate the end of the Bill : and besides it is not easy to define what a Quaker is, if so restrained ; and it is not possible to enumerate all the names by which several sects would call themselves to evade this Bill ; and it were great partiality to single out the Quakers, and pretermit others as dangerous, if not more."—" They likewise disagree with the amendment ' any ten or more persons ;' because the mischief may be great when five meet, but the remedy is not so easy when ten meet," &c.—The House of Lords again refers the whole matter to the same Committee before appointed ; they order the word ' others ' to be added in ; also to extend the Bill to all others who maintain that all oaths are unlawful. Further alterations are brought forward, and another conference between the two Houses takes place on " March 1st, 1662."—On " May 2nd, 1662," the Royal assent to the Bill is reported.

in esteem amongst the upright, and grows daily into dominion over the evil spirits of the world ; and Friends are bold and faithful to the Lord, to be, or do, or suffer anything for the name of Christ : and they are, in the Father's will, patiently waiting upon Him, to receive more and more of his life and wisdom and fulness.

As for the proceedings in Parliament, it is thus : since their last assembling, they have had us in divers debates among them in both Houses ; and it was supposed by many, and desired by all our enemies, that the Bill prepared against us by the Commons, and sent up to the upper House at their last sessions, (of which you have had a former account,) would have been finished against us by the higher House this sitting. It was divers times under consideration, both in the House and by the Committee appointed for that end, of which Committee were six bishops ; and there wanted not zeal in many to effect the carrying of it on and finishing it : but, however, the last Third day of the week, they fell upon it as the last time ; and by course of proceeding, it should then have been determined against us, [but] it was carried amongst them in the negative ; so it is put off for the present till their next meeting : what will then be done we must leave to the Lord. Last Sixth day, they adjourned till the seventh of next month. This is the sum of the present proceedings in relation to us. There is a certain hand of the Lord in ordering these matters, and yet hath hitherto prevented the purpose of our adversaries, and brought to nought the counsel of such as desired our destruction long ere this day.

But let Friends walk in the fear and in the wisdom and counsel of the Most High ; and let all

the world have nothing against you of evil in the things of this world, nor anything, saving the matters of God, and for his worship sake : and if we are persecuted, and suffer as such only, and for this cause, the Lord will be our peace and everlasting reward.

E. Burrough.

E. H.

[*From an ancient Copy.*]

HENRY FELL TO THOMAS SALTHOUSE.

London, 3rd of 12th Month 1661. [2nd mo. 1662]

—HERE in London, meetings are very quiet as ever they were, and large ; and Friends are well in the general.

We hear the Act against meetings is passed both Houses, but the King hath not yet signed it. There were some of the Lords and the Bishop of Exeter that did speak against it ; yet notwithstanding, the Chancellor* and the greatest part carried it.

There was a Friend told me this day, he had been with Marsh, (one of the bedchamber,†) to deliver to him a paper of Friends' sufferings in the plantations abroad, for him to deliver them to the King ; and he told the Friend that he heard the King say, there should be liberty of conscience granted to our Friends in the plantations abroad, and that he in-

* Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.

† See *George Fox's Journal* or *Sewel's History* for particulars respecting this person, who appears to have kindly interested himself on behalf of George Fox.

tended it : and he did not question but to get an order to that effect.—

I am, thy dear brother,
in the labour and travels of the Gospel,
H. F.

[*From the Original.*]

No. XXXIX.

[This next letter describes some of the consequences of the cruel Act of Parliament against Friends, which we have just left ; but for a detailed account of the continued persecutions and cruelties inflicted upon Friends in consequence of this Act, see the record of them in *Besse's Account of the Sufferings of Friends*, 2 vols. fol.]

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 28th of 8th Month [10th mo.] 1662.

DEAR M. F.

—THE remembrance of thy love is very refreshing to me : and for *passages* here, the news is sad indeed ; yet I think to acquaint thee how it is with us. The last First day, as innocently as ever, Friends kept their usual meetings ; and about the tenth hour came the life-guard with their head-pieces and breast-pieces, and in Cheapside they remained ; and the trained band-men they came to the Bull, [Bull and Mouth meeting-house,] and

laid hold of all the Friends they could, which were very many; some were carried on their muskets to prison, and some very much beaten and abused, as bad as formerly;—the same man commanding the soldiers, as did that day the Friend was wounded who died. What passed at other meetings as to the abusing and beating I cannot here relate; but at several meetings that day there were taken and imprisoned about eight score,—ninety-six being put in the common gaol, all men except three women: and that day they took abundance of Baptists; seven score I hear are to be brought from Westminster to Newgate, where they were upon examination. What the reason is of this sudden calamity that is come upon us so undeservedly, I am not certain; but divers reports there are, concerning the cause of their so afflicting us: the main thing that is alleged is, that there was a plot found out; and I hear that the Baptists did meet that morning by the third hour at one of their meeting-places; Major-General Brown* heard of it, and was at Whitehall by four in the morning; but whether they met to any ill, and to plot or such like, I know not.

—The King and Council would have Friends promise, that they will not take up arms against the King; but other answer we have not yet returned. But thou knowest our principle is to live in peace and quietness, and that is our delight; and that which leads us to suffer, rather than to lose the peace with God in our consciences, doth also

* Formerly in Cromwell's army, but afterwards Alderman and Lord Mayor of London.—See *Sewel's History*, (1662) for an account of his cruelties upon Friends in London.

lead us to live in peace with all men, seeking their good and eternal happiness.*

So with my dear love to all thy children and to all Friends. I remain, thy dear friend.

E. H.

I heard lately from George, he was in Northamptonshire, and was very well. I desire to hear from thee.

Since my writing the above, I have been at Newgate, and they brought in seven score more Baptists

* It is somewhat remarkable, that soon after the passing of the Act against Friends, another Royal Proclamation "of grace" was issued in their favour; it is indeed stated to be put forth on the occasion of the coming into the country of a Queen consort: the following extract from *Kennet's Chronicle* describes the Proclamation:—

"August 22nd, 1662. [The King's] Letter of Grace and Indulgence to the Quakers and other Separatists directed to the Lord Mayor of London, &c. Charles R. — We are informed that there are several persons who go under the name of Quakers and other names of separation, now in the gaols of London and Middlesex, for being at unlawful assemblies; who yet profess all obedience and allegiance unto us. We would be glad that all our subjects could be brought to agree in an uniform worship of God; and we hope that the foresight of the dangers which they run into by a wilful contempt of the laws, and our present indulgence, may prevail with some of these persons, to reduce them to a better conformity. And therefore we do willingly lay hold of this time and occasion of public joy for the first coming in of our dear consort the Queen, to our Royal Palace at Westminster, to declare this our Royal pleasure unto you, that you cause all such of the said persons in our gaols for London and Middlesex, who have not been indicted for refusing the oath of allegiance, nor shall appear to you to have been ringleaders or preachers at their assemblies, to be enlarged. Given at Hampton Court, August, 22nd, 1662."—*Kennet*, p. 746.

and eight Friends to Newgate :—the cry is, that they must all be banished.

[*From the Original.*]

No. XL.

[IN this year 1662, the work of persecution against Friends was carried on with increased earnestness and cruelty, under the Act against their meetings, &c. George Whitehead says, “Our meetings in and about London were broken up by force and violence, by the trained bands and officers, especially on the First days of the week :—such work they commonly wrought on that day, which they pretend to be their christian sabbath and the Lord’s day, and to be kept holy,” &c.]

It was not long before G. W. himself, with his friends R. Hubberthorne and Edward Burrough, became victims to this severe persecution ; being haled out of meeting, and committed to Newgate. In this prison the Friends were so unmercifully thronged together, that a violent fever broke out amongst them, whereof some died. Before the time of their imprisonment was expired, G. W. informs us, his dear brethren and fellow-labourers in the gospel, R. H. and E. B. fell sick, and the Lord was pleased to release them from their sufferings by death.*

* From the *London Register of Friends’ Burials*.

“Edward Burrough, a prisoner at Newgate for the testimony of Truth departed this life, the 13th of Twelfth month 1662, of a fever, and was interred in the burying ground near Bunhill.”

The Burial record concerning R. Hubberthorne has already been given, page 85.

The following extract from an interesting letter of Edward Burrough, written not long before his decease, is taken from *Besse's Sufferings*, vol. i. p. 390: he died when about twenty-eight years of age, ten of which he had devoted to the work of the ministry.]

EDWARD BURROUGH TO FRIENDS.

From Newgate, 1662.

—Friends here are generally well in the inward and outward man; and the presence of the Lord is manifest with us, through great trials and sore afflictions, and grievous persecutions, which we have met with this last half-year. It would be too large to relate, and piercing of your hearts to hear, the violence and cruelty which Friends have suffered in this city in their meetings and in prisons; it hath been my hard lot to bear the persecution inflicted every way; though the Lord hath given strength and boldness, and his power alone hath carried through, else many would have fainted and not been able to stand. Many have given up their lives in faithfulness, in this place; and their faithfulness in keeping meetings, and in patiently enduring many tribulations and cruel exercises, is a crown upon Friends in this city. Here are now near 250 of us prisoners in Newgate, Bridewell, Southwark, and the New Prison. In Newgate, we are extremely thronged, that if the mercy of the Lord had not preserved us, we could not have endured; there is near an hundred in one room on the common side amongst the felons, and their sufferings are great; but the Lord supports. For

about six weeks time the meetings were generally quiet in the city ; but these last three weeks they were fallen on more violently than ever, and many Friends were imprisoned : but through all this, Truth is of good report, and the nobility of it gains place in many hearts, which are opened in pity and compassion towards the innocent sufferers ; and Truth is increased through all trials. Our trust is in the Lord and not in man ; and we desire the same spirit may dwell and abide in you also, that ye may be like minded with us, and be all of the mind of Christ ; who seeks men's salvation, and not their destruction.

E. Burrough.

No. XLI.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 7th of 5th Month [7th mo.] 1663.

—DEAR GEORGE, since my coming hither we have had much good service for the Lord ; meetings are very large, and of late time very peaceable, except that at the Spittlefields ; Friends have been kept forth there, and have met in the streets for three First days ;* and the last First day Jo.

* “ When kept out of their meeting-houses by the soldiers,” *Sewel* writes, “ they used not to go away, but stood before the place, and so their number increased ; and then one or other of their ministers generally stept upon a bench or some high place, and so preached boldly : thus he got sometimes more hearers than otherwise he

Higgins being there and standing up to speak a few words, was taken away by the constables and soldiers, and brought before one of the Aldermen; who after examination, did commit him to the Poultry Counter, where he yet remains; I was with him to-day; he was in health. I was likewise down at Westminster, but cannot hear that the Bill for Conformity hath passed the higher House as yet.* Friends have had their meetings *within* the Bull and Mouth for three last First days: I was there last First day, and we had a good, favoured, weighty meeting, and much larger than ever formerly, inasmuch that many were constrained to go back because they had not room. Morgan Watkins was at Pell Mell last First day, very quiet: Josiah Coale at Peele; John Shield at Horshoordown [Horsleydown] W. Brid (?) and Gerard Roberts, at Myle-end; all very peaceable.—

Alex. Parker

[From the original.]

might have had. When one minister was pulled down, then another stood up and preached; and thus often four or five were taken away one after another, and carried to prison. This keeping of meetings in the street, now became a customary thing.—Friends “were persuaded that the exercise of their public worship, was a duty no man could discharge them from, and they believed that God required the performing of this service from their hands.—Thus they got abundance of auditors, and amongst these, sometimes eminent men, who passing by in their coaches, made their coachmen stop. At this rate they found there was a great harvest, and thus their church increased under sufferings.”—*Sewel*, vol. ii. pp. 4, 5.

* The Bill to prevent and suppress Seditious Conventicles.

No. XLII.

[RESPECTING the writer of the following letter, Josiah Coale, our historian *Sewell* has left this testimony :—" It was his life and joy to declare the gospel, and to proclaim the word of God ; for which he had an excellent ability : and when he spoke to the ungodly world, an awful gravity appeared in his countenance, and his words were like a hammer and a sharp sword. But though he was a son of thunder, yet his agreeable speech flowed from his mouth like a pleasant stream, to the consolation and comfort of pious souls. Oh ! how pathetically have I heard him pray : when he, as transported and ravished, humbly beseeched God, that it might please him to reach to the hard hearted, to support the godly, and to preserve them stedfast : nay, with what a charming and melodious voice did he sound forth the praises of the most High in his public prayers !—He had travelled much in the West Indies, sustained great hardships, and laboured in the ministry at his own charge, being freely given up to spend his substance in the service of the Lord. Though he went through many persecutions, imprisonments, and other adversities, yet he was not afraid of danger, but was always valiant ; and he continued in an unmarried state, that so he might the more freely labour in the heavenly harvest ; and many were converted by his ministry." He died in 1668.*—*History of Friends*, vol. ii. under 1668.]

* The following is a copy of the record of his decease in the *Register of Deaths of London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting* :

"Josiah Coale, aged about thirty-five years, departed

JOSIAH COALE TO GEORGE FOX.

22nd of 7th Month, [9th Mo.] 1663.

DEAR GEORGE,

WITH fervent, hearty, sincere, and true love, which is of God, and wherewith my heart is at this time filled, do I in the fear of the Lord dearly salute thee, as beloved of my soul; and do give thee to understand, that in uprightness of heart to the Lord, my life is still given up to his service; and his precious presence and almighty power is still continued with me, by which I bless God I am still for his service as ever: and my heart is filled with fervency of zeal for his name and glory, more and more from day to day. The full content and desire of my soul is with me,—he enlargeth my heart by his power; so that indeed nothing is too dear to me to part withal, or to suffer the loss of, for his sake.

Dear George, it is now near six weeks since I left the city of London; and I have been visiting Friends about the country in Surrey, Oxfordshire, and Bedfordshire; I expect to visit Friends also in Hertfordshire, before I return to the city, for indeed I am not clear of it; but dear A. P. and Morgan Watkins being there, takes it at present off me. I believe thou hast heard of the bustlings and prisonings that have been of late; but last First day I hear all was quiet and well.

this life the 15th day of the 11th month, 1668, at Mary Forster's in John-street, having weakened and worn out his outward man in the work and service of the Lord in the ministry of the everlasting gospel, and was interred in the burying ground in Checker Alley."

J. Audland and J. Story are about Bristol; Joseph Coale gone westward.

I have little more to signify to thee at present, only having this opportunity, it was in my heart to signify my unfeigned love to thee, which I believe thou well knows; who am thine in the Lord.



[From the original.]

No. XLIII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 9th of 1st mo. [3rd mo.] 1664.

DEAR M. F.

MY dear and true love is to thee and to G. F.—
Hearing of thy imprisonment [in Lancaster Castle]
I write to thee, and I would have G. F. see the
enclosed. Concerning the sufferings of Friends I
have drawn them up in three copies, one for the
King, and the other two for the Speakers, and then
I intend to print it.—

There were forty Friends taken last First-day at
Reading, which will make up about 650 in prison.
There were last week three Friends carried out
dead together in one day out of Northampton gaol,—
John Samm was one of them; Daniel Wills and
several others are very sick in the prison, and not

likely to live; there being twenty-seven in that gaol.*

I have much more that I could write, but at this time have not a convenient opportunity: so with my dear love.

I rest thy friend,

E. H.

[*From the original.*]

No. XLIV.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO GEORGE FOX.†

London, 12th of 2nd Month, [4th Mo.] 1664.

— Dear George, the service is very great and

* “John Samm was a faithful minister of the Gospel, an incessant labourer in the work of the ministry, and of an exemplary life and conversation.” A violent fever had broken out in this prison, and “seized first some of the felons; to whom as fellow creatures and fellow prisoners, (though in a cause vastly different,) the Friends thought it their duty to be assistant in their extreme weakness, and accordingly did what they could for them; till at length the air being exceedingly corrupted with the breath of the distempered, a kind of contagion spread among the prisoners, and the Friends so generally fell sick, that when called over at the assizes, only four (of twenty-two) were able to appear before the Judge,” who, hearing of their condition, gave a private order for them to be let out for air. The next year, 1664, some of them died: “these all finished their course in peace and full assurance of faith; being enabled in the midst of their afflictions to sing praises unto the Lord, and bless his name, to the edification and comfort one of another, and to the astonishment of others who beheld their piety and patience.”—*Besse's Sufferings*, Fol. vol. i. 533.

† Then in Lancaster Castle.

weighty here, and we are but few to perform it. Our meetings of late have been very large, and peaceable for the most part, I have not known the like since I saw London; [there is] little disturbance at all, only sometimes they keep Friends out of the Bull on the First-days, and at Spittlefields; but the last First-day Friends were within doors, and all the meetings in and about the city were very quiet. At Reading most of the men Friends are in prison; and I heard to-day that they hale and pull the women Friends out of the meeting-house to prison :* I heard also; that Thomas Curtis was sick. From Bristol I heard lately, and in G—dall [*word not clear*] all things are well; but the mayor's officers come constantly to meetings, and take Friends' names, but do not send any more to prison.

The Parliament is adjourned till the 18th day of this month, (as I hear;) they have not yet perfected anything against nonconformists: but it is reported there is a Bill in the House that is like to be very severe: how far they may proceed, a little time will manifest. I hope the Lord will arm his people with boldness and strength suitable to the trial.

Dear G. let thy prayers be still for us, that we may persevere unto the end in our testimony for God, that in the end we may be crowned with life.

None at present are here in the public service but J. Coale and Jo. Gibson (who came in the last week,) and myself. Dearly beloved, I have not

* It was about this period that William Armorer, a Justice of the Peace for the County of Berks, commenced his career of cruel persecution against Friends.

much more to signify to thee at present, but very true love to thee and M. F. and the rest.

Farewell,
Thy brother in the gospel fellowship,
A. P.

[*From the original.*]

No. XLV.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 4th of 3rd mo. [5th mo.] 1664.

DEAR G. F.

HAVING this opportunity to send to thee, I thought meet to acquaint thee somewhat of affairs here, since my last letter to thee.

As to meetings in the city, they are well and generally quiet, only on First-days [Friends are] kept out of the Mouth [Bull and Mouth.] The last First-day I was there in the street, and had a very good service, and a great resort there was; and in the afternoon had a very good meeting in Horsid-down [Horsleydown.]

The Bill against the Sectaries I do not understand that it is passed in the Upper House, but in the Lower it is; and [is] expected to be in both.*

* A curious circumstance occurred in Parliament respecting this Bill against Conventicles: a clause concerning Friends, intended to stand part of the Bill, and which had passed as such in the House of Peers, was

M. F.'s address [(?) *partly torn*] about your sufferings there, was last week delivered to the K—— [King,] by Eliz. Bell and another Friend, who

lost, before it reached the Commons. A conference was accordingly had between the two Houses on the third reading, upon which the Earl of Anglesey reported to the House of Peers: [*Lords' Journals under date "May 16, 1664."*] "That the House of Commons acquainted their lordships at this conference, that since the last free conference, they, looking into the said Bill against seditious conventicles, find the proviso concerning the Quakers missing, which they conceive to be a material part of the Bill: therefore, they desire this House to supply the defect." It was avowed by some Peers that the Bill, with the said proviso, was delivered to Serjeant Charleton. A Committee of Peers then searched for the original draft of the proviso, which was found, and agreed to be the same: the lost clause was then returned to the Commons, and the Bill was only just in time to receive the royal assent.

This Act against Conventicles came into force the 1st of the month called July of this year, and it was to continue for three years. "It may not be improper (writes G. Whitehead) to give some account of this second Act of Parliament, designed not only for our imprisonment, but also for our banishment out of the land of our nativity; and *that* with more expedition than could be affected by the first Act [against Quakers;] though the Lord our God would not suffer that design of banishment, to take any such general effect against us, as was desired by our invidious persecutors; for by his judgments He in a great measure frustrated our adversaries. Howbeit many of our innocent Friends were sentenced to banishment; yet but few (in comparison) were actually shipped away, or banished out of the land." This Act provided that if any person above sixteen years of age were convicted of being present at any meeting, conventicle, &c., under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy of the Church of England, he should be fined £5. or be imprisoned three months: for the second offence £10. or six months' imprisonment; and for the third offence to be transported for seven years: the

were ordered by the King to go up yesterday for an answer to the Secretary ; which accordingly they did : his answer was to this effect,—that nothing could be done in it by the K—g, but he had left it to the Council and the Parliament.*

Since I came to this City, I have been somewhat troubled that the books of sufferings were not delivered sooner ;—how E. H. [Ellis Hookes] ordered the business I know not.—Yesterday I went up and down a great part of the day about getting them delivered ;—this day I expect a pretty quantity of them will be given, and Gilbert L— [Latey] is this morning to make way for the women that are to deliver them.†

R. Farnsworth and Thomas Killam are newly come into the City ; and John Higgins, Robert Lodge, Jo. Moone, and John Gibson, I think, are all at present in the City. I know nothing now but of staying a good while here, for there is some

offender's goods to be distrained upon for expenses of transportation. " Under the power of this Act, our religious assemblies were often disturbed and broken, by the persecuting agents, officers, and soldiers, and many of us apprehended and brought before magistrates ;—and no matter of evil fact proved against any of us, but for worshipping the Lord Almighty according to their consciences. Great were the sufferings of Friends in consequence of this cruel Act ;—many were made widows and fatherless, and honest industrious Friends and their families grievously distressed, fined, and spoiled of their property."

* Doubtless of G. F. and Friends, in Lancaster Castle. See *G. F.'s Journal*, 1664.

† Probably the following :—" For the King and both Houses of Parliament ; being a Declaration of the present Sufferings and Imprisonment of above 600 of the people called Quakers, who now suffer in England for conscience sake," 1664.—*Whiting's Catalogue*, p. 174.

necessity on me. If the Friends that came from London be there, [probably at Lancaster,] remember me to them, and to thy fellow prisoners M. F. and the rest.

Thy dear Brother,

G. Whitehead.

Rebecca Travers is gone towards Ipswich to the prisoners.—Let me know whither to direct, when I send by the post; and direct thou to W. Travers at the Three Feathers in Watling-street.

[*From the original.*]

No. XLVI.

MARY FELL TO HER MOTHER MARGARET FELL.

Mile-end Green, near London,

27th of 4th mo, [6th mo.] 1664.

ENDEARED AND TENDER-HEARTED MOTHER,

MY duty and very dear love is freely given and remembered unto thee, as also my very dear love is to dear G. F.

This is chiefly to let thee understand, that yesterday sis: [sister] and I were at Whitehall; where we spoke to the King, and told him that if he would please to signify something to the Judges, before they went their circuit, to release you; otherwise it would be past, for the time drew very near of the Assizes. He said he would release

you, if we would promise you would not go to meetings. Sister said, we could make no such engagements; for the meeting hath been kept many years, and never hath done any harm. He said, 'Cannot your mother keep within her own family, as she may have five [persons present;]—but she must have such tumultuous meetings.' We said, she hath no such meetings; they are only her neighbours that come. The King said, there were some Quakers in the last plot. Sister said, that could not be proved. He said, he had letters [about] it, and their names. So Chifines* bid us come on the Fourth day; [and] we do intend to go to-morrow. I was there about a week since, and told the King, that now the Assizes drew very near, if he did not do something for thee, they would run thee into a præmunire, and get thy estate from thee and thy children; and I desired him to take it into consideration. He was then very loving to me, and said he would take it into consideration; and he said, 'they shall not have her estate from her:' he took me by the hand as soon as he came near me. I also spoke to Prince Rupert, and desired him to put the King in mind of it; and he said, he would do what he could in it; and went then to the King and spoke to him. Prince [Rupert] hath always been very loving to Friends, and hath often spoke to the King about you.

Sister gives the renewed remembrance of her entire love to thee and dear G. F., as also doth my brother.—I suppose sisters Isabel and Sarah will

* This person is spoken of by Pepys, in his *Memoirs*:—he was the King's closet keeper or page, and is said to have been a great favourite with him.

be gone:—remember me to sisters Susanna and Rachel.

I am thy dutiful and obedient daughter,
MARY FELL.

[*Year endorsed by G. F. 1664.*]

{*From the original apparently, which is addressed to M. F. at Lancaster, as usual, to the care of Thomas Green, Grocer, there.*}

No. XLVII.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD TO GEORGE FOX AND
MARGARET FELL.

*White Lion Prison in Southwark,
the 12th of 5th mo. [7th mo.] 1664.*

DEAR G. F. AND MARGARET,

MY dear and upright love is to you both, and to the rest of Friends with you. Since the writing of the enclosed, I thought meet to send it you, having not freedom at present to write much into the North by post. A. P. [Alex. Parker] and R. F. [Richard Farnsworth] are in the city, and yet at liberty. G: I got thy paper to Friends printed, as thou desired, and disposed of several more. S. F. [Samuel Fisher] and Jos. Fuce are prisoners still, but have liberty from the keeper for a little time: but we are to be kept without bail, &c. I have met with some hard usage since I came here; the first night we came, we were put into the common felon's ward, because we could not agree to uphold the

gaoler's oppression: and then the felons took our money from us out of our pockets, for their drunken custom called "garnish;" and the place was so noisome, that we had not whereon to lay our heads to rest: but I doubt not but the Lord will work through all these things for us. It is well I am in this prison, and I am satisfied in it.*

Farewell,

Your dear brother,
G. W.

When any of you write to me, direct and enclose it to some Friends in the City for safety. These Magistrates that have such a prejudice against me, (that would incense the Court against me,) are such chiefly as have turned with the times. I know not whether I may not be sent to Whitehall again; but the Lord will plead my innocency.† When you have done with the enclosed, send it to Kendall. I hear there are nearly 200 Friends lately imprisoned at Bristol.

* See *George Whitehead's Christian Progress*, page 275 to 283, for a narrative of their cruel treatment and sufferings when incarcerated in that noisome gaol.

† A few days after his commitment to this prison, G. W. was accused of having been concerned in a plot in the North, and that his name was disguised: whereupon he was carried in a boat to Whitehall, guarded with musketeers and the jailer with them, where he was examined: but one "stepped in on the occasion, who seemed to be an ancient gentleman, and hearing my accuser tell me my name was not Whitehead, contradicted him, saying, he has writ divers books, to which his name is in print: this gave a check to him, and prevented further examination." G. W. afterwards wrote to the Secretary of State to clear himself of those false insinuations, and the matter dropped. He was released out of prison, when the three months were expired for which he had been committed.—*G. W.'s Christian Progress*, p. 282.

Dear M. F. thou art often in my remembrance, and my dear love thou mayst feel. John Rouse and thy daughters Margaret and Mary were here yesterday, and are well.*

G. W.

[*From the original, addressed to Lancaster.*]

* The above letter speaks of Samuel Fisher and Joseph Fuce, respecting whom Besse gives the following account :—

“ About the end of this summer, 1663, Samuel Fisher, Joseph Fuce, George Brigstock, and Thomas Moore, were taken together in a meeting at Charlewood, and committed to the White Lion Prison in Southwark, where they lay till two of them, viz. Samuel Fisher and Joseph Fuce died. Samuel Fisher was a man of great parts and literature, formerly a parish preacher at Lydd in Kent, but voluntarily relinquished his benefice of about £400 per annum, and joined in society with the people called Baptists for some time. In the year 1655, he became convinced of the Truth as professed by the people called Quakers; and through obedience thereto, he became a faithful minister of the same, and travelled much in the work and service of the Lord, not only in England, but in other countries. At Dunkirk in Flanders he had good service, in testifying against the idolatry of the priests and friars, and in declaring Truth to the English garrison there. He afterwards travelled on foot over the Alps to Rome, and bore a faithful testimony against the Papists in that city. After his return to England, in the four last years of his life, his sufferings were very great; for in 1661 he was several months a prisoner in the Gate-house in Westminster. Soon after his release thence, he was apprehended passing the streets, and sent to Wood-street Compter, and after some time had to Guildhall, where, refusing to take the oaths, he was committed to Newgate, and lay there about twelve months; and in a short time after his discharge, he was taken again at Charlewood, and sent to prison in Southwark, as before related; where after two years continuance, he rested from his labours in perfect peace with the Lord, and was well beloved both by the brotherhood and others; for as he excelled in natural

No. XLVIII.

JOSIAH COALE TO GEORGE FOX.

*Newgate, London, 22nd of 6th mo.
[8th mo.] 1664.*

DEAR GEORGE,

MY love in the Lord doth dearly reach forth and extend itself to thee; and therewith do I most dearly salute thee, even in the bond of love and covenant of peace and life; into which the Lord by his eternal power and arm of strength hath gathered many in this day of his appearance and loving-kindness unto the sons of men; in which we are daily made partakers of his endless riches and mercies, which he multiplies unto us, and renews in us through Christ our Lord and life; by and through which we live, and are kept alive unto Him, and enabled to do his will and to answer his requirings, in whatsoever he makes known and reveals unto us to be our duty to do.

Truly, dear George, the Lord is not slack concerning the promises of His blessings unto his own

parts and acquired abilities, so was he exemplary for his christian humility and condescension, in meekness instructing those that opposed him, and incessantly labouring, either by word or writing, to spread and promote the doctrine of Truth among the children of men. He died on the last day of the month called August, 1665.

“ Joseph Fuce travelled in many countries in the work of the ministry, and had an excellent gift for the convincing of gainsayers, being frequently exercised in disputes with Independent, Baptist, and other preachers. He was a man of a patient, meek, spirit, and very laborious in the work of the ministry, whereunto God had called him.—*Besse's Sufferings*, vol. i, p. 691 & 693.

seed, now in its suffering condition; neither is He wanting unto us in this our time of trial: but indeed I may say in truth, that He causeth his love and kindness to abound in us, and our cups to overflow. What may I say of his endless love,—it is indeed beyond declaring; for I know not what more can be desired than the Lord hath done for us or given unto us, as concerning the present enjoyment of his rich love and blessings; for which blessings, glory and praise be unto his name for ever and ever! Amen.

And now dear George, to give thee an account of things here, and how it hath been of late, it is in my heart at this time to do. Yesterday was a week, after I had been speaking the Truth to the people in the Bull and Mouth about one hour and a-half, the sheriff came, with (I judge) near half a hundred of the city officers, to break our meeting: and after they had made proclamation in the street for the multitude to depart (for they feared the multitude, which was great, that came to see what became of us,) they rushed in violently to the meeting and commanded me down; but I was not free at their command. Then they drew their swords, and one of them laid on me with a hanger, but struck with the flat side of it; and the rest laid on Friends with swords and staves, and so pulled me down and out to the sheriff in the yard. Then I spoke to them of the unmanliness of their proceedings, to come in such a posture amongst an innocent peaceable people that would not resist them,—that it was far below the spirit of a man; and they were ashamed, and commanded the swords to be put up. So afterwards they fetched out the rest of the meeting more quietly; and two or three of the

officers took me and led me alone to the Guildhall; and afterwards brought Friends, two, three, four, and six at a time to me, till they had brought near two hundred. And I drew them together about the judgment seat, and had there a very precious meeting; for the power and presence of the Lord was plentifully manifested amongst us. So after a while the Mayor and Aldermen, &c. came, but were so employed with Baptists and Pendants, [Independents,] that they meddled not with us; but kept us there under strong guards till midnight, not permitting Friends to come to us; but they had one way or another turned out near half our company. Then about midnight they brought us to Newgate, (that people might not see us;) and the next day they sent for about twenty to the Guildhall, and committed about sixteen, and let the rest go. The Fourth day they sent for me and eleven more, saying, we must go before the Mayor and Bishop at Guildhall; but when we came there no Bishop appeared: and I asked of the Mayor for the Bishop, telling him it had been more honourable to have sent him to the Bull and Mouth with his spiritual weapons, and thereby to have overcome us if he could: but he would say little to that, but appeared very moderate to me. I had fine talk with him, and he told me he had rather set us at liberty than commit us, but he could not avert it; for I must either pay five shillings fine, or go to prison fourteen days. I told him if he would prove that I was in meeting in other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy of the Church of England, I would then pay him 5s.; but he would not say more, but left the bench, and I was sent away. Then they called in the rest, one

at a time, and committed them in like manner : they did it into an inner room, where none but themselves might hear, though many hundreds of people were without, murmuring to get in ; and so they sent us to Newgate again. On Sixth day they sent the rest, about sixty in all, to the Old Bailey, and committed them for about nine days a piece.

On Third day last, as I was speaking in our meeting on the chapel side [in Newgate,] one of the keeper's men came and fetched me away, and put me in the hole where condemned men used to be put ; but they kept me not there an hour. On Fifth day as I was speaking, he came again ; and because Friends stood around about me, that he could not reach me, he fell laying on both men and women with a great staff ; and the felons fell on with their fists beating Friends ; and some of the women thieves with a knife or knives, threatened to stab Friends, and did attempt so to do, but were prevented. At last they brought me away and put me to dear A. P. in Justice's hall : and I wrote to the Mayor and sent a Friend with it. He seemed to be wroth with them for so abusing us, and said we should not be so abused ; but he would take a speedy course to have it otherwise. Since that, he [the keeper's man] would let me go over to them sometimes, but not be always with them. I have very quiet precious meetings with them when I go ; and indeed the glorious and mighty power of God [is felt,] to the admiration of many. But last First-day, the Mayor and wicked Brown came to the Bull meeting themselves ; and Friends were fetched out before them in the porch, where they fined them and committed them, upwards of 200, and sent them to Newgate : but they that brought

them, turned many away by the way ; and some of the halbert men would run away from them, and leave them in the street ; so that I think but about 120 only were brought in. But Brown showed himself very cruel, and pinched the women sorely, and pulled the hair of the men's heads : and would take them by the hats, and bring their heads near the ground, and then cast their hats in the dirt. James Parke was taken there ; and from the Peall [Peele] about thirty were brought to Newgate, and about twelve from Mile-end ; but we know not yet how long they are committed for : we judge here are in all in this Newgate about 300 of us. But the Lord is with us of a truth, and doth bear up our hearts far above all sufferings,—blessed be his name for ever ! John Higgins and one more are in upon the third account ; and at Hertford eight are sentenced to be banished, four to Barbadoes and four to Jamaica ; and some more are in on the third account.

Dear George, pray for us, that we may be kept faithful in the power and authority of God, and that his presence and love may be always continued with us. Dear A. P. [Alexander Parker] dearly salutes thee ; and my love salutes M. F. and the rest with thee. I would be glad to hear from thee, who am thine in the Lord.

Josiah Coale.

[*From the Original.*]

No. XLIX.

GILBERT LATEY TO GEORGE FOX AND MARGARET
FELL.*London, 1st of 7th mo. [9th mo.] 1664.*

DEAR G. F. AND M. F.

WHOM I unfeignedly love and dearly salute, these are to let you know that I have received your letter; and George Whitehead (who has been released) drew me up the heads of it in a very good manner, and I carried it to the Lord Obeny [Albany(?)] as thou directed me; who had been sick of late and not very well when I came to him. I told him my business, and from whom it came; so when he had heard me what I had to say, this to me was his answer,—That all was shut up, and nothing could be done; and that neither the King nor Chancellor would do anything at all for us. Neither could any man be heard to speak for us. Then I told him of the unjustness of thy imprisonment, and of the badness of the jury, and its being contrary to law; and that thou desired nothing but a [fair(?)] prison, and that the thieves and murderers had more liberty than thee, and that thou was locked up in a bad room, and Friends not suffered to come to speak to thee; and I told him I had a paper of it, and desired him that he would hand it.—He told me he was sorry with all his heart, but he would tell me no lie; he was sure nothing could be done, and he believed they did [it] on purpose to vex us; and so I parted with him: for he said, he could do nothing, for all the clergy were against us, and nothing

could be done at all, neither did he care to meddle with the paper at all: so I was fain to leave him.

George Whi: [Whitehead] was a saying it might be well, if we knew the judge who promised thee more liberty than before, that some might speak to him of it, to see if he would do anything in it.

So with my dear love to thee, and dear M. F., John Stubbs, and the rest of Friends in prison.

I remain thy assured Friend in what I may,

Gilb: Latye.

[*From the original, addressed to Margaret Fell,
Lancaster.*]

No. L.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 17th of 8th mo. [10th mo.] 1664.

DEAR G. F.

MY dear and upright love in the Lord salutes thee, and the rest of our dear Friends with thee in that prison [Lancaster Castle,] and particularly dear M. F. The sessions have been here at the Old Bailey and Hicks's Hall the last week, and are not yet over at the Old Bailey.—Judges Hide and Keeling were on the bench, who have much manifested their enmity against Friends, both in the City and country, where they have been in their circuits. Though they were eager against Friends; yet the jury, being some of them moderate, both excepted against some of the witnesses, (some of them were Newgate gaolers or

retainers to them ;) as also, after they were sent out to bring in their sentence upon Friends, they did not agree upon a verdict, but several of them stood out. [—*Then follows a similar report of what passed, to that contained in Ellis Hookes's letter next following.*]—The last First-day it was much on [me] to go to the Bull and Mouth meeting, where many of the *halbert ears* came to take us ; but they were made to hear me minister near about an hour : afterwards, came the Mayor and Brown, and I was permitted to speak a little while after the Mayor came, before I was pulled down. They sent me and about forty more to Newgate, and nine or ten to Bridewell.*

— As for what was done about thy sufferings, I suppose Gilbert Latey will give thee an account ; for I abstracted two of thy letters, one was shown to Albany [Lord Albany (?)], another to March, and another to Anglesea, and they all seem to dislike the cruelty that is exercised against thee.

Thy dear brother,

G. W.

[*From the Original.*]

No. LI.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 18th of 8th mo. [10th mo.] 1664.

DEAR M. F.

MY dear love is to thee in the unchangeable Truth.

* See *G. W.'s Christian Progress*, p. 283.

I think it is two weeks since I wrote to thee ; therefore I could not but write this, and give thee an account of what passed at the Sessions-house this last week. Yesterday, at Hicks's Hall, four women were sentenced to eleven months' imprisonment or £40 fine, having husbands ; about twelve or thirteen men and women were sentenced to be transported to any of the foreign plantations :— and at the Old Bailey about forty-six Friends were called, and sixteen of them would not answer them (not guilty) according to their form, and so yesterday were sentenced by the Recorder ;—those that had husbands, to Bridewell for twelve months or £20 fine, and the men were sentenced to Barbadoes, and the women-maids to Jamaica. About sixteen last Seventh day pleaded, and were tried by a jury, which jury were twice sent out, not agreeing in their verdict : the Judges (Hide and Keeling) talked much to them ; but at last they could not agree, six of them standing very much for Friends. Some of them pleaded notably on the behalf of Friends, and said, they did not deny but that they were guilty of meeting at the Bull and Mouth ; but they said, they were not guilty of the fact charged against them, viz. that it was a seditious meeting ; and one of the Jury said, the witnesses were not competent persons (being common drunkards) to swear against honest men. So the Judges were very angry with them, and bound them in £100 bond a-piece to answer it at the King's Bench bar. The four gaolers at Newgate were all the witnesses that came in against Friends, [also] one of the marshal's men.

The Friends at Hertford, that were first sentenced to be banished, are come back from Gravesend again, and all their goods are set on shore ; and I

hear the owners intend to send their ship another way. They have sentenced twenty-one at Hertford since.

So dear Margaret, my dear love is unto thee, and to G. F., and J. Stubbs and L. Fell. George W. and about three score more were taken at the Bull last First-day, but everywhere else meetings were quiet.*

Thy lov : friend,

E. H.

[*From the Original.*]

* See a full account in *Sewell's History* of the trial of the Friends at Hertford, before Judge Orlando Bridgman, (vol. ii. under 1664). As respects the Friends "coming back from Gravesend," as stated above, the following particulars concerning them, from *Besse's Sufferings*, are too remarkable to be omitted for a note at this place.

Pursuant to the sentence of banishment passed on these Friends (seven in number), the gaoler acting, it seems, under the order of the Sheriff of Hertfordshire, proceeded to contract with a master of a vessel bound to the West Indies, to carry out the Friends accordingly. Various difficulties occurred previous to their being delivered on board the vessel; and when at length they were brought to the ship, the master gave them permission under his hand to go ashore, and to return again when he should require them. "On the 1st of October, [8th mo.—the month in which the above letter is dated,] the master sent for them to come on board, which they did; and the ship sailed down the river as far as the Red-house near Deptford; when a sudden turn of the wind drove her back to Limehouse, where the prisoners were again set ashore. On the 6th, the ship again weighed anchor with wind and tide fair;—yet could not the seamen, with their utmost application, make this ship sail, but they were obliged to anchor again about a stone's cast from the place they lay at before; so that some of the mariners were amazed, and said, 'we shall never get out of England, while these men are on board!'" So they set them ashore the third time. On the 8th, they sailed again, and went down to Green-

No. LII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 19th day of 2nd mo. [4th mo.] 1665.

DEAR MARGARET,

—LAST First day our meetings were quiet in all places in and about this City, the Bull excepted ;

wich ; when a sudden storm obliged them to cast anchor again to secure the ship, and the prisoners were sent on shore the fourth time. On the 10th, they were ordered on board the fifth time, and sailed again ; when the ship was with much ado kept from running aground : they [however] set the prisoners ashore again at Blackwall, and she went down the same tide to Gravesend. Thither the prisoners followed, and by the master's order some tarried there, and others came back to London, till the 28th ; when they were ordered aboard a sixth time, and the ship sailed that night to Leigh road, where they cast anchor : but before morning the wind turned strong against them, so that they lay there two days and three nights. On the 31st, they sailed to the North Foreland, and cast anchor again till the next day. At night the master set them ashore, and directed them to Deal, where he met them altogether : and before several witnesses declared, that though they had followed the ship so long, yet he was resolved not to carry them, and gave them a certificate in writing as follows :

“ Whereas, there were seven men, called Quakers, brought on board my ship, called the Anne, of London, by William Edmonds, Gaoler of Hertford, viz. Nich. Lucas, Henry Feast, Henry Marshall, Francis Pryor, John Blendall, Jeremiah Herne, and Samuel Traherne, all which have continued waiting upon my ship from London to Deal, from the 14th day of September last till this day ; and I seeing Providence hath much crossed me hitherto, whereby I perceive that the hand of the Lord is against me, that I dare not proceed on my voyage to carry them, they being innocent persons, and no

where they took twelve, who were committed. Since I wrote last to thee, there were three Friends shipped in order to be transported, of whom I think T. S. gave you an account: the ship is gone (for ought I hear) from the Downs.* Last Seventh day T. S.

crime signified against them worthy of banishment; and that there is a law in force that no Englishman shall be carried out of his native country against his will; and also my men refuse to go the voyage, if I carry them, which will be much to my hinderance, men being very scarce by reason of the long press. For these reasons, therefore, and many more, I will not carry them. These are, therefore, to certify any person or persons that shall question them: that they did not make an escape, but I put them on shore again to go whither they please. All this is certified under my hand, this 10th of November, 1664."

[Witnessed by four persons.] "Thomas May."

"Being thus set at liberty, they returned to London, and then to their own homes; and they sent a letter to the King and Council, stating the circumstance, and accompanied it with a copy of the ship-master's certificate. This letter being read at the Council board produced an order; which, after setting forth the fact of their having been put on board the aforesaid ship, pursuant to their sentence of transportation, and having been by the master set ashore at the Downs, "leaving them at liberty to go whither they pleased; and it appearing to be matter of contrivance and design between the said master and the persons before mentioned;" it was ordered that the High Sheriff do again apprehend and secure them, "until means of transporting them can be made by some shipping bound unto those parts."

By this order they were again committed to prison, and remained there seven years, until discharged by the King's proclamation.—*Besse's Sufferings*, vol. i. p. 246—248.

* One of these Friends, soon after he reached the ship, died, as appears by the following entry in our Registers of Burials for London:

"Robert Hayes, who for Truth's sake suffered many weeks imprisonment in Newgate; after which he being

[Thomas Salthouse] with J. Moor went to Kingston, where they were taken at a meeting, and several others; and are committed, some for not giving bond, (as I hear,)—the rest for a month.

Things in relation to Truth here, are as well as can be, considering how the power of darkness is set against us; and Friends remain still in prison. There is great fear that we shall lose the Bull and Mouth; they go to trial this term about it, and it is to be tried in the King's Bench: the Truth is like to suffer much, by the loss of it; for it is and hath been so noted and public [a meeting place,] that it has been very serviceable.—

E. H.

[*From the original.*]

No. LIII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 22nd of 3rd mo. [5th mo.] 1665.

DEAR MARGARET,

I RECEIVED thy letter, and I have spoken to Gilbert carried from thence (with two more) on ship board in order to banishment, they being taken out of their hot beds without an hour's warning, and exposed to the sharp air of a cold morning on the water, he departed this life, (not having spoken many words after he came on board the ship,) about the 26th day of the 1st mo. 1665: the cause of his death appearing to lie in the unrighteous proceedings of his persecutors; and was interred in the aforesaid burying ground." [Bunhill Fields.]

"I knew this Robert Hayes, [writes G. Whitehead,]

[Latey (?)] who says, he believes it has been Kirby's* own procuring from the Secretary; for the judge cannot remove them but by order of law. The governor of Scarboro' Castle is here in Town; which is the place, it was reported here, he [G. F.] was to be removed to.

Last First day our meetings here were quiet, only at the Bull they pulled them out, and let them go. I hear the King sent order, that there should be no more sent to Newgate by reason of the plague, which increases here very much, thirty dying of it last week as I hear. Friends are kept close in

he was a very innocent, loving man, a goodlike person, had a fresh comely countenance, seemed healthy, and in his prime strength when first imprisoned. I was very sorrowfully affected, when I heard how quickly he was dispatched out of the world, by the shameful cruelty and inhuman usage inflicted upon him by those merciless persecutors."—*G. W.'s Christian Progress*, p. 300.

* Colonel Kirby of Kirby Hall, five miles from Swarthmore; he was the magistrate who caused G. Fox to be so severely treated in Lancaster Castle. In his Journal under this date G. F. writes,—“After the Assizes at Lancaster were over, [at which G. F. defended his case so skilfully,] Colonel Kirby and some other justices were very uneasy with my being at Lancaster, (for I had galled them sore at my trials there;) and they laboured much to get me removed thence to some remote place. Colonel Kirby threatened that I should be sent far enough, and sometimes he said I should be sent beyond the seas. So about six weeks after the Assizes, they got an order from the King and Council, to remove me from Lancaster; and with it they brought a letter from the Earl of Anglesea, wherein was written, that if those things were found true against me, which I was charged withal, I deserved no clemency nor mercy; and yet the greatest matter they had against me was, because I could not disobey the command of Christ and swear.” After which, G. Fox was conveyed to Scarboro' Castle, where he remained a prisoner more than a year.

Newgate,—now about seven score. There is a report of sending away eight more shortly. [*Doubtless to the ship for banishment.*]

From thy loving Friend,
E. H.

[*From the original.*]

No. LIV.

MORGAN WATKINS TO MARY PENNINGTON.

The Gatehouse, 18th of 7th mo. [9th mo.] 1665*

DEAR MARY,

—In the fellowship of life I dearly salute thee ; in which thou mayest feel me, if thou should never more see me : for I have received my mortal life several times of late from the hand of the Lord, and through faith in his power ; for when the messenger of death would have entered, it hath been driven back. And blessed be His name, who hath kept me, and nineteen more here in this close place, all in health, above these five weeks ; notwithstanding three have been buried out of this prison of the sickness. But dreadful and terrible is the hand of the Lord upon all flesh in this wicked city ; and which is the same upon the nation in general : and

* The Gatehouse was a prison situated near the west end of Westminster Abbey ; to which prison Morgan Watkins was committed, by warrant from the Duke of Albemarle, "dated 9th of August, 1665, for being at a meeting in St. John's."—*Besse.*

although it hath hitherto fell heavy upon the poorer sort of people, yet the dregs of the cup are reserved for the fat ones, and the high ones, and the proud ones, and the very oppressors. And good is the hand of the Lord to his own, whose death is gain :—Blessed are they, who in the day time have laboured diligently ; now night comes, they lie down in rest and peace : but for the idle, night hath surprised them as a snare, before they have arrived at Salem, the city of peace.

There is a terrible cry ;—and indeed the miseries that are upon many here, are hardly to be uttered : and yet wickedness is little abated in the persecutors, but they are rather worse in cruelty ; for they have found out a new way to murder the innocent and others that they account enemies, by thronging them into infected prisons ; and so their cruelty executes them in a short time. Two captains and a lieutenant died here ; and several more are here, and nothing is laid to their charge. Many are deceased aboard the ship of the banished Friends. Six of them taken within the Peel and sent to Newgate have left the body, and about thirty more out of both sides [of that prison (?)]. I suppose thou heard Turner is dead ; S. Fisher and John Shield are deceased, and very many Friends. Many doctors of physic, who made a great ado about stopping the disease, are dead, and several priests : several Friends are deceased out of the White Lion [Prison.]

Friends are kept out of the Bull, and the Mayor caused the door to be boarded up close with thick boards ; but I think the other meetings are quiet.

The sickness breaks out exceeding hot in the city, and thousands more die than are in the Bills [of mortality,] as I am certainly informed. Fugge the

wicked master of the ship is yet in the Counter.*
Exceeding great is the exercise of Friends here,
that none knows but those who are in it.

My dear love salutes thy husband, &c.

Thy true friend and brother,

M. W.

[*From the Pennington Collection.*†]

[George Whitehead, who, it appears, remained in or near the City during this terrible visitation, thus writes :

“It was a time of great calamity, sorrow and heaviness, to many thousands of all sorts ;’ and that which added to our Friends’ affliction was, the hardness of our persecutors’ hearts,—their cruelty and barbarity in imprisoning and detaining so many of them in Newgate, and in the White Lion prison in Southwark, after the plague was greatly broken forth, and many people swept away thereby.” G. W. proceeds : “I had not then freedom, satisfaction or peace, to leave the City, or Friends in and about London, in that time of such great and general calamity—no, not when the mortality was at its height ; but was concerned and given up in spirit to stay among them, to attend Friends’ meetings, to visit Friends in prison, and at their own houses ; even when many of them lay sick of the contagion, both in prison and at their habitations. And in all that time the Lord preserved me by his power, through faith, from that infectious distemper ; which

* He was arrested and imprisoned for debt, before he could set sail.—*See Sewell’s History, Index Fugge.*

† This collection deposited in London, consists of four volumes of letters and documents of Isaac Pennington’s ; copied by his son John. A considerable number of them have been printed by John Kendal, and by John Barclay.

mercy I esteemed great and wonderful, and hope ever thankfully to remember, in a living sense of the same divine hand which upheld and preserved me. I well remember, that although it was judged the prisons were then infected and poisoned with the contagion, I was freely given up to suffer imprisonment; and on First days I took my night cap in my pocket when I went to meetings, not knowing but I might be apprehended at some meeting, and committed to prison. However, the Lord gave me faith to be resigned to his will, either to live or to die for his name and Truth's sake; and, through all those dangers and difficulties, to bear my testimony in faithfulness to his blessed power and light of righteousness; and thereby sustained and wonderfully preserved my life, when the cry and sound of mortality was round about us, from one end and side of the City to another."

After this visitation had subsided, G. W. wrote an affectionate address to his Friends, which is given at large in his *Christian Progress* (p. 301:) it is entitled "*This is an Epistle for the Remnant of Friends, and chosen of God, whom he hath yet preserved to bear their Testimony in and about the City of London, 1665.*" The following extract from this Epistle is thought worthy of being here added:—

"The life, peace, satisfaction and comfort, that many innocent Friends felt, and that some expressed and signified on their death beds, I am a living witness of; having several times (as the Lord hath drawn me in his love,) been present with many of them, when they were very low in the outward man, and with divers when upon their death beds, both in that destructive place Newgate, and some other

places. Yea, when sorrow and sadness have seized upon my spirit, and my heart and soul have been pierced and wounded, at the sad sufferings of so many harmless lambs, when they were on their sick beds in these noisome holes and prisons ; yet at the same time having had a deep sense and knowledge of the Lord's love and care to them in that condition, and having truly felt his life and power stirring amongst them,—this, on the other hand, has refreshed and revived my spirit ; knowing that *Christ their salvation and redemption* was manifest to and in them, though in that suffering state, as they have followed and obeyed Him through sufferings and tribulations. With such to live was Christ, [even] in that state, and to die was gain ; it being through death that the Lord had appointed the final deliverance of many, from the cruelties and rod of their oppressors, and from the miseries and evil to come.”* —*Christian Progress*, p. 300, 307.]

* The state of London during this dreadful visitation, seems to have been most deplorable. The following striking description is taken from *Ellis's Original Letters in the British Museum* ; the letter is addressed to Dr. Sancroft from J. Tillison, and is dated Sept. 14th, 1665, four days previous to the date of the above letter from Morgan Watkins :—

—“The desolation of the City is very great. That heart is either of steel or stone, that will not lament this sad visitation, and will not bleed for those unutterable woes !—What eye would not weep, to see so many habitations uninhabited,—the poor sick not visited,—the hungry not fed,—the grave not satisfied ! Death stares us continually in the face, in every infected person that passeth by us,—in every coffin which is daily and hourly carried along the streets. The custom was in the beginning, to bury the dead in the night only ; but now both night and day will hardly be time enough to do it.—The Quakers (as we are informed) have buried in their piece of ground a thousand for some weeks together last past.” —

LV.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 7th of 9th Month [11th Mo.] 1665.

DEAR M. F.

MY dear love is to thee and to all thy dear children.

— I have been preserved well, but as a brand is plucked out of the fire, so has the Lord delivered me; for I have often laid down my head in sorrow, and rose as I went to bed, and not slept a wink, for the groans of them that lay dying; and every morning I counted it a great mercy that the Lord gave me another day.

— They keep us out of the meeting at the Bull on the First and Fourth days, but on the Fifth days we meet therein. Last First day, they carried Esther Biddle and another woman to prison, for speaking in the street, and struck Esther over the face with their halberts. Our meetings are quiet everywhere else. Friends are generally well,* both in prison, in the ship, and at Newgate, and those that are at liberty; and not above one a-day buried; whereas there used to be sixteen or eighteen, and sometimes twenty a-day buried; for several weeks together it was so. These are a list of the names of them that

* The reader will doubtless have apprehended the meaning, in which the term "being well" seems to have been used in these letters,—viz. :—*in a religious sense* :—in the case before us, Friends were probably in the midst of the most severe sufferings and acute trials to the outward man,—in prison—in the ship, &c. ; and yet the acknowledgment is made, that they were "generally well."

died in Newgate and in the ship,—which yet remains where it did.

[Then follows the names, making up the following totals.]

Died, that were sentenced for banishment, 22 names.

Dead, that came from the Peale, 5 names.

Dead, that came from Mile-end, 25 names.

Died in the ship, 27 names.*

E. H

[*From the Original.*]

No. LVI.

MORGAN WATKINS TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 5th of 10th mo. [12th mo.] 1665.

—I SUPPOSE thou heard of our releasement a while since: I have been something weak, since I

* Whilst the plague was raging in the City, “our persecutors [writes G. Whitehead] took fifty-five of our Friends (men and women) out of Newgate, where the distemper also prevailed; and forced them on board a ship called the Black Eagle, in order for banishment; which ship lay for some time in the River. They were so crowded on board, and the distemper breaking out amongst them, most of them were infected, and twenty-seven of them soon died.”—“I visited these Friends (continues G. Whitehead,) and had a meeting with them on board; and the Lord my God preserved me, both from the distemper, and also from banishment; wherein I do humbly confess his power and special providence, to His own praise and glory.” [*Christian Progress*, p. 300.] The ship, after considerable detention, at length sailed;

came out into the air; but through the great love of my God I am wonderfully preserved, to the praise of his name. But the two imprisonments in

but was taken in the channel by a Dutch privateer: and sailing round by the North of Ireland and Scotland to avoid re-capture, the vessels at length reached Holland; where the Friends (one half of their number having previously died, as stated above,) were set at liberty by the Dutch, and afterwards all but one returned to England.*

* With regard to the number of deaths by the plague among Friends in the metropolis, the following abstract account from our Burial Registers for London will show the amount: the report contained in the letter to Dr. San-croft, in the note at page 152, is manifestly erroneous as regards the burials of Friends; but it is not improbable that many bodies were allowed to be buried in the Friends' burying ground without any ceremonials.

Account of the number of deaths of Friends in London, for each month, in the year 1665; also of those reported to be of the plague, &c.

1665.

Total number of deaths registered 1177; viz.

1st mo.	2nd mo.	3rd mo.	4th mo.	5th mo.	6th mo.	7th mo.	8th mo.	9th mo.	10th mo.	11th mo.	12th mo.
5	10	11	14	36	254	502	226	69	19	13	18

Number of deaths reported to be of the Plague, 532; viz.

1st mo.	2nd mo.	3rd mo.	4th mo.	5th mo.	6th mo.	7th mo.	8th mo.	9th mo.	10th mo.	11th mo.	12th mo.
0	0	0	1	6	142	279	84	16	4	0	0

Under the Plague are included in this table the cases reported to be of "the Sickness," "the Visitation," "the Common Distemper;" but not "the Spotted Fever," of which many cases occurred, and were doubtless often a modification of the plague. The first entry in the 4th month is "Henry Stokes of Stepney, died 24th of 4th month, of the Plague; as the searchers of the said parish

Newgate and the one at the Gatehouse, have much weakened my body, in which I have had several battles with death; but the power of my God arising, gave me dominion over the distemper and weakness of the flesh. The day was dreadful to all flesh, and few were able to abide it, and stand in the judgment: but the Lord was very merciful to the remnant of his people, and his blessed seed is arising in many vessels. Our meetings are quiet, save only the Bull and Mouth, which is kept out: they are beginning to be very large of strange faces and good honest countenances, who with exceeding hungerings receive the Truth. Gilbert Latey is in health, and Amos Stodart, but he hath buried his wife. A. P. [Alexander Parker] is at Bristol. There is no stranger Friend here at present but myself, and the work is very great. G. W. [George Whitehead] is in Essex.—William Caton is out of the body, [deceased,] as was so related to me two days since.

reported." The last entry observed of the Plague is on the 19th of 10th month of this year. During the fore part of the period the cases of deaths by the plague, are reported by the searchers; but when about at its greatest height, these reports of diseases *by the searchers* do not occur in general, but the entry is made simply of the Plague," &c.

The total number of deaths registered for this year,	
[1665] as stated above, is	1177
The same for 1666	106
1667	121
1668	171
1678 (ten years later)	300

The number of deaths of members only, for ten years ending 1811, within the then six monthly meetings of London, is reported to be 501, or about 50 per annum, and the number of members of these meetings in 1811, is reported to have been 2270; from such data it is not improbable that the population of Friends for the same district in 1678 might be about 10,000, calculating upon a proportionably heavier ratio of mortality for that early period.

The City doth begin to fill again. I have account of 920 Friends and Friends' children and servants, that were buried in our burial place, since the 25th of the 1st month 1665; but I think not much above half were Friends. The ship and Friends are yet in the river; and all in Newgate are pretty well, and have much liberty.—The Bishop of Salisbury is dead; and this day I heard that Canterbury was dead, but I am not certain; and also another, but his name I know not.

So at present I rest thy truly loving friend and brother, in the fellowship of the everlasting Gospel.

Morgan Watkins.

[*From the original.*]

No. LVII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 2nd of 8th mo. [10th mo.] 1666.

DEAR M. F.

MY dear love in the Truth is unto thee. I have lately been in the country, which is the cause of my not writing to thee.

People are in a great confusion here, by reason of the fire which happened in this City, to the great destruction and ruin of the same; which has not been without a just cause of provocation of the Lord by this generation; who have lifted up themselves against the Lord, and their hearts have been given up to pride and vanity, and not to seek the

Lord; but rather to persecute them that were true seekers of Him, and who delighted in his ways.

There was a young man that came out of Huntingdonshire, to warn the King to set Friends at liberty; or else, within two days, destruction should be.* He went to Whitehall the day before the fire; but they would not admit him to come to the King: but the next morning he went again, and was admitted to speak to him in the presence-chamber. Here was last week another man Friend, who came out of Staffordshire to speak with the King, and to deliver a *pay* [a paper or list(?)] to him; and indeed a very plain honest man he is, and he had a great weight upon him: and going towards Whitehall last Sixth day morning betimes, he met the King in his coach, (as it was supposed) going a hunting. And he stepped to the coach side, and laid his hand upon it, and said: "King Charles, my message is this day unto thee, in the behalf of God's poor, afflicted, suffering people;" and gave him his *pay*, (which indeed were weighty words,) and pressed him on to read it. The King said, "How dost thou think I can read it now?" So he told the King that his message was unto him,—“that the people of God might have their liberty from under the great bondage, that thee and thy law hath laid upon them.” Then the King replied and said, that he and his Parliament were to consider of it. The Friend told him, “if they did so consider of it, as to set the afflicted people of the Lord at liberty, it might be a means to stop the judgments of the Lord; but if so be, that they did continue their bonds, the Lord God would multiply his judgments the more upon them.” Then

* See G. Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, p. 314.

the Friend moved the sufferings of Friends at Reading, and told him that their sufferings did cry very much in the ears of the Lord against him; and except he set them at liberty from under the cruel law of *præmunire*, their cries would not be stopped, but would be turned double upon his head. Then the King said, that they would not obey the law of the nation. Then the Friend told him, that if so be, he and his Parliament would make a law *equal* to the law of God, then he might try whether they would walk contrary to that; and so pressed him to set Friends at liberty, or else the Lord would bring worse judgments upon him. And he told him, that the Lord had pleaded with this City, with plagues, sword, and with fire; and so left him. When he came to the coach side, the footman took off his hat; but the King bid him give the man his hat again, and was very mild and moderate.

So this is the most at present.—His name is Adam Barfoote.

I saved thy book from the fire, and last Seventh day I gave it to W. Warwick.*

E. H.

[*From the original.*]

* The narratives given in the Diaries of Evelyn and Pepys, (who were eye witnesses,) of the great fire of London, are sad indeed. Evelyn writes: "Sept. 3. The fire continued all this night (if I may call that night, which was light as day for ten miles round about,) after a dreadful manner—when conspiring with a fierce eastern wind in a very dry season. I went on foot to the (Bank side in Southwark,) and saw the whole south part of the City burning from Cheapside to the Thames, and all along Cornhill, Tower Street, Fenchurch Street, Gracious Street, and so along to Bainard's Castle, and was now taking hold of St. Paul's Church. —The conflagration was so universal, and the people

LVIII.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 13th of 9th Month, [11th mo.] 1666.

DEAR M. F.

THOUGH for some time I have been silent in this manner of speaking to thee by writing, yet is not my love in any measure diminished, but rather augmented to thee; and I often remember thee in thy sufferings; and thou (with all the faithful in Christ) art dear and near unto me. I hope thou art, as formerly, sensible of the integrity and innocent true simplicity of my heart, both towards God and all his people; for Truth is my delight, and in the work and service of God I labour: it is my meat and drink to do the will of God, and therein I am fully resolved to continue, even to the end.

so astonished, that from the beginning, (I know not by what despondency or fate,) they hardly stirred to quench it; so that there was nothing heard or seen but crying out and lamentation, and running about like distracted creatures.—Oh! the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as haply the world had not seen the like since the foundation of it, nor be outdone till the universal conflagration. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven; the light [being] seen above forty miles round about for many nights.—The poor inhabitants were dispersed about St. George's Fields and Moorfields, as far as Highgate, and several miles in circle,—some under tents, some under miserable huts and hovels, many without a rag or necessary utensils, bed or board; who, from delicateness, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well furnished houses, were now reduced to extremest misery and poverty," &c. vol. i. p. 372—374.

I have for some time been in and about Bristol, where the work of God is still very precious, as dear T. Salthouse can inform thee. Since my departure from thence, I have had good service on the Lord's behalf in several parts of Wiltshire and at Reading, where Friends are generally well, but kept prisoners as formerly. Ann Curtis is at liberty, but Thomas Curtis, and G. Lamboll, and J. Cole with his two brothers, and about thirty-two or thirty-three more, are prisoners. At Wycomb I was also, where Friends at present are in health. John Raunce hath been much exercised in his family; five died out of it of the sickness, and his two daughters were nigh death, but are recovered: at present he and his family are well, and go abroad again. I was at Aylesbury to visit I. Pennington and the prisoners there, four in all, who were well; from thence I passed to Amersham, and so to Kingston, where I was taken prisoner and committed for seven days.

On Fourth day last, I came to this sad ruined city, the sight whereof did sadden my spirit; considering that the end of woes are not yet come: but in the will of God I am satisfied, knowing assuredly, that in, through, and over all these things, Truth shall arise and prosper, and shall be exalted for ever and ever. Great fears hath surprised the hearts of thousands here, and great talk there hath been of a bloody massacre intended by the Papists, which hath raised great contests in the Houses of Parliament; and this day is a proclamation come forth against them: it is like it will not be long before thou see the contents of it.

Friends here are generally well, and meetings thronging full and very peaceable. G. F. is not

yet come into the city; last Sixth day at night he lay at Aylesbury, and on the Seventh day intended to pass to William Barber's, four miles from Albans: he was expected here this night; we hope he will be here very shortly. We be pretty many of the labouring brethren in the city, to wit, G. W., John Whitehead, Tho. Loe, Jo. Coalé, Thomas Rolfe, and myself. I this day received a letter from Thomas Salthouse; if with thee, remember my dear love to him, and to John and Margaret Rouse, Sarah, Mary, Susan, and Rachel Fell, with all the rest of thy family and friends, who love and obey the Truth. My heart in the true love of God is knit unto you all; in which I bid thee farewell; and rest

Thy brother in the Truth, that lives for ever.

Alexander Parker.

[*From the original.*]

LIX.

WILLIAM CALLOW TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 6th of 1st mo. [3rd mo.] 1668.

DEARLY BELOVED,

— ALL Friends here are well in general, and our meetings very full and peaceable at present.

As concerning Friends' proceedings at the Court, at present I need not say anything of it, for E. Stubbs, it is like, will inform thee. What may be done, I know not: but the Lord's will be done, into whose will and living power, I, with many more, are wholly and freely given up, and to what He sees

good for us ; knowing by good experience to our great comfort, that He will suffer no more to be laid on us, than what he will also enable us to bear.

G. F. we hear, is come to Berkshire, and is expected to be here this week. There are but few Friends in the ministry here now, but John Burnyeat and J. Coale, who came last Seventh day.

With my dear love, &c.

William Callow.*

[*From the original apparently, bearing the post mark.*]

* In *Besse's Sufferings*, chap. xx, under "Isle of Man," is a long and sad narrative of the cruel persecutions, to which this Friend, William Callow, his wife and family, were subjected. Repeated attempts were made, at the instigation chiefly of the Bishop of the Island and the Governor, to banish this Friend and others ; but they were again and again sent back to the Island by order of magistrates of the districts in England and Ireland, whither they had been sent. In 1666, W. Callow came to London, and obtained from the Prince Rupert a letter to the Earl of Derby, interceding on his behalf ; in which W. C. is described as an ancient tenant of the Earl in the Isle of Man, and who "is now, it seems, turned Quaker, and for that reason banished the country."—"If (adds the Prince) there be no more in it than being a Quaker, I do presume your Lordship may be inclined to restore him and his family to their ancient possessions ; and that you may please to do so, is the reason of my giving your Lordship this trouble."—The Earl's reply is conclusive against the application,—briefly stating that he would not have the island infected with schism ; it being then clear, as he said, of Quakers and Dissenters. The account of the severe persecutions against this Friend and the few others in that island, occupy several folio pages of Besse ; who concludes the same with the following paragraph :—"Thus have we traversed an almost unparalleled series of persecutions, carried on many years together, by the arbitrary power of an inexorable prelate, against a Christian and harmless people, for no other cause than the exercise of pure religion, and keeping of a conscience void of offence both toward God and man."

[*The letter of W. Callow has upon it a seal with this motto,*

" 1660.

God above

Keep us in his light

and love,"

— *the rest broken off.**]

No. LX.

THOMAS SALTHOUSE TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 19th of 3rd mo. [5th mo.] 1668.

———— I PERCEIVE that you have been informed that the Parliament is adjourned until the 11th day of 6th month ; and nothing is done as regards the renewing of the bill for transportation.† Meetings here and in all parts are peaceable, and like to be, as far as we can perceive. Friends here determine now to press the King and Council to consider of the returns out of all the counties, concerning the prisoners in the gaols of England ; and to that end Thomas Moore was this last week sent for, who is now come up to move the King to the prosecution of so good a work. Doctor Lower‡ hath improved

* One of Richard Farnsworth's letters had a seal with a skull, and the superscription "Memento mori :"—very generally the initials of the writers' names are contained on the seals :—"a flaming sword," with his initials, was upon one of George Fox's seals, which he left specially with other articles in his will.

† Conventicle Act, the term of which, (three years,) had then not long expired.

‡ The words in the text are not very distinct. Doctor Lower was brother of Thomas Lower, who married one of M. Fell's daughters.

his interest of late with some Lords of the Royal Society, to plead with the King on thy behalf for liberty; but *Pharaoh's* heart is so hard. There is at present at this place, of those that labour in the work of the ministry, G. W., J. C., John Grave, James Batt, Samuel Thornton [?], John Stubbs, and one Samuel, son of old Elizabeth Hooten. We had very large and precious meetings here last First day.

Thy faithful friend in Truth.

Thomas Salthouse.

[*From the original, addressed to Lancaster.*]

LXI.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 22d of 7th mo. [9th mo.] 1668.

DEAR M. F.

———— I RECEIVED thy letter dated 15th of the 6th month; and I have been most of the time with G. F. in Hampshire and that way, so that I could not well write an answer. This last week Thomas Moore hath been twice with the King on two Council days, and spoke to him concerning the prisoners: the King told him they were full of business; and so he is put off, and nothing is like to be done.

— If thou writes to me, direct to John Staples, a grocer, near the Three Cups, Aldersgate Street, London. The Parliament is again adjourned.

E. H.

[*From the original.*]

No. LXII.

JOHN ROUSE TO HIS SISTER-IN-LAW SARAH FELL.

Newington, the 15th of 11th mo. 1668.

[1st mo. 1669.]

DEAR SISTER,

—We have had several precious meetings, since the General Meeting, for the gathering of those that are gone astray; in which the power and glory so irresistibly broke in upon them, that many of them were very much broken, and gave open testimonies against that spirit which had seduced them from the unity of Friends, very much to the satisfaction of the faithful: and the power wrought so effectually among them, that Friends had little need to set forth the evil of the courses they had followed; for they themselves gave sufficient testimony of the evil thereof: and the bowels of Friends were so enlarged towards them, that I believe there will be meetings appointed for the gathering of them, so long as any, that are honest among them, are left ungathered.

Thy dearly loving brother,

J. R.*

[*From the original apparently.*]

[George Fox in his Journal, under date of this year, writes: "We had great service at London

* The writer mentions his mother and Rachel being there, and of Rachel going to Shacklewell school. G. Fox had advised the establishment of this school the year before, "for instructing girls and young maidens in whatever things were civil and useful in the creation."—*Journal* (1667.)

this year, and the Lord's Truth came over all; and many that had been out from Truth, came in again this year, confessing and condemning their former outgoings." And again,—“several meetings we had with them, and the Lord's everlasting power was over all, and set judgment on the head of that which had run out. In these meetings, which lasted whole days, several who had run out with John Perrot and others, came in again; and condemned that spirit which led them [with him] to keep on their hats when Friends prayed, and when they themselves prayed. Some of them said, that—if Friends had not stood, they had been gone, and had fallen into perdition.”——

Thomas Ellwood also mentions the “memorable meeting appointed to be holden in London, through a Divine opening in the motion of life, in that eminent servant and prophet of God, George Fox; for the restoring and bringing in again those who had gone out from Truth, and the holy unity of Friends therein, by the means and ministry of John Perrot.” (*Life*, p. 253.)

The brief allusion to the subject of this General Meeting in the foregoing letter, comprehends much that is striking and instructive:—further extracts from Thomas Ellwood upon the same subject, well deserve to be here added. After giving some information respecting John Perrot and his notions, Thomas Ellwood proceeds to confess, that in the time of his own infancy and weakness of judgment as to Truth, he himself was caught “in that snare:—but the Lord in tender compassion to my soul, was graciously pleased to open my understanding, and give me a clear sight of the enemy's design in this work; and drew me off from it.”—“But when that solemn

meeting was appointed at London, for a travail of spirit in behalf of those who had thus gone out, that they might rightly return, and be sensibly received into the unity of the body again,—my spirit rejoiced, and with gladness of heart I went to it; as did many more of both city and country; and with great simplicity and humility of mind, did honestly and openly acknowledge our outgoing, and take condemnation and shame to ourselves.”——“Thus in the motion of life were the healing waters stirred; and many, through the virtuous power thereof, were restored to soundness; and indeed, not many were lost. And though most of these who thus returned, were such as, with myself, had before renounced the error and forsaken the practice: yet did we sensibly find, that forsaking without confessing, (in case of public scandal,) was not sufficient: but that an open acknowledgment (of open offences,) as well as forsaking them, was necessary to the obtaining complete remission.”—*Life*, p. 255, 256.

 LXIII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 10th of 8th mo. [10th mo.] 1669.

DEAR G. F.

MY dear love in the everlasting Truth is unto thee and to M. F. This is to let thee know, that yester-

day morning our dear friend Joseph Fuce laid down the body at Kingston.

This day week the Parliament comes to sit: I thought we might have seen thee here about that time. An account of Friends sufferings printed and given them, might be very serviceable at their first coming [together.] I hear the Bishops intend to have a new Act made against us, if they can, at the Parliament;—the first offence to be imprisonment, and the second offence confiscation of goods.*

E. H.

[*From the original.*]

LXIV.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL † [now Fox.]

London, 16th of 11th mo. 1669 [1st mo. 1670.]

DEAR M. F.

MY dear love to thee in the everlasting Truth,

* Both Houses of Parliament, in the spring of this year, addressed the King to suppress Conventicles in and near London and Westminster. The next year, 1670, they proceeded to renew the Act against Conventicles, after a lapse of three years from its expiration. It is remarkable how earnestly both Houses of Parliament pressed on this work of persecution. The King however once more issued his declaration of indulgence in 1672; and at the meeting of Parliament in 1673, the House of Commons again took into consideration the King's declaration of indulgence, and presented another address or rather a remonstrance against it; after which the King, desirous to please the House, again revoked it in 1673-4.

† The date of her marriage with George Fox in the Bristol Register of Friends, is 27th of 8th mo., 1669.

which is much in my heart that I cannot express.

I received thy letter from Bristol, and shall be as ready to answer thy desire to write to thee sometimes as ever; for I honour thee,—very dear thou art unto me as ever in the precious Truth. I parted with G. F., but now I have been with him all this day; he is very well. I received a letter yesterday from Arthur Cotton at Plymouth, and he informs me, that there lately arrived at that place, several Friends from beyond sea, viz.: Robert Hodgshon, Christopher Bacon and Christopher Holder, Ann Clayton and two other women Friends. Ann and the other women and C. Holder are gone towards Bristol.

Yesterday, there was a Friend with the King, one that is John Grove's mate:* he was the man that was mate to the master of the fisher-boat, that carried the King away, when he went from Worcester fight; and only this Friend and the master knew of it in the ship: and the Friend carried him [the King] ashore on his shoulders. The King knew him again, and was very friendly to him; and told him he remembered him, and of several things that was done in the ship at the same time. The Friend told him, the reason why he did not come [forward] all this while was,—that he was satisfied, in that he had peace and satisfaction in himself, that he did what he did to relieve a man in distress: and now

* John Grove is spoken of by Thomas Ellwood in his Life (under date 1670,) as a choice Friend and sailor of London, who was master of a vessel, and who traded to the island of Barbadoes. He carried out a son of Isaac Pennington, who fell overboard on the voyage home, and was lost.—See *T. E's narrative*, p. 277.

he desired nothing of him, but that he would set Friends at liberty, who were great sufferers, or to that purpose; and told the King he had a *pay* [*supposed a list*] of 110 that were præmunired, that had lain in prison about six years, and none can release them but him. So the King took the *pay*,—and said, there were many of them, and that they would be in again in a month's time; and that the country gentlemen complained to him, that they were so troubled with the Quakers. So he said, he would release him six: but the Friend thinks to go to him again, for he had not fully [*word not clear, supposed to mean relieved*] himself.

All things are well and quiet here in relation to the Truth. I am in haste, and cannot write so large as I may when I have more time, it being late; but rest

Thy loving Friend,

E. H.

[*From the original: the Letter bears the post-mark, and is addressed*

[“For Thomas Greene, shopkeeper in Lancaster. for M. F.” *It is endorsed by George Fox, thus: “e hookes to m ff of paseges consarnning richard carver that carred the king of [on] his backe. 1669.”*]

[The particulars described in the foregoing letter, of what passed at this interview with the King, are curious and interesting, and, it might be said, full of character. On the restoration of the King, many and earnest were the applications for favours and pensions, by those who had hopes of making out any case of *personal service* towards the monarch in his distress, at a time when a large Parliamentary premium was set upon his head, and during his extraordinary escape from this country in 1654.

This accounts for the remark of the Friend (probably in reply,) why he did not come forward earlier.* The honest simplicity of his answer, and his appeal to the King on behalf of his suffering brethren in the gaols, will doubtless not be lost upon the reflecting reader.

From a volume entitled *The Boscobel Tracts, relating to the escape of Charles the 2nd after the battle of Worcester*, re-published in 1830, the following particulars are extracted, which seem at all to bear upon the occurrence mentioned in the foregoing letter; they are taken from that part of the work which contains the King's own account of *his escape, as dictated to S. Pepys*. After describing his reaching Brighthelmstone, through a succession of very extraordinary escapes from discovery, the King goes on to state—"About four in the morning, myself and the company before named, went towards Shoreham, taking the master of the ship with us on horseback, behind one of our company; and came to the vessel's side, which was not above sixty tons. But it being *low water*, and the vessel lying dry, I and Lord Wilmot got up with a ladder into her, and went and lay down in the little cabin, till the tide came to fetch us off." Their approach to the French coast is thus described. "We stood over to the coast of France, the wind being then full north; and the next morning a little before day we saw the coast. But *the tide failing us*, and the wind coming about to the S. W. we were forced to come to an anchor within two miles from the shore, till the tide of flood was done. We found ourselves just before an harbour in France called Fescamp;

* Nine years had elapsed since the King's restoration.

and just as the tide of ebb was made, espied a vessel to leeward of us, which by her nimble working, I suspected to be an Ostend privateer. Upon which I went to my Lord Wilmot, and telling him my opinion of that ship, proposed to him *our going ashore in the little cock boat, for fear they should prove so*:—we accordingly both went ashore in the cock boat, and the next day got to Rouen.”—*Boscobel Tracts*, p. 163.

It seems probable from this account, that the tide failing, the King was carried ashore, as usual, on the shoulders of a sailor—the Friend; whose name George Fox gives us in his endorsement of the letter; viz. Richard Carver.]

LXV.

ELLIS HOOKES TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 15th of 12th month, 1669, [2nd mo. 1670.]

DEAR G. F.

—— As for the Friend that was with the King, his love is to thee: he has been with the King lately, and Thos. Moore was with him; and the King was very loving to them. He had a fair and free opportunity to open his mind to the King: the King has promised to do for him, but willed him to wait a month or two longer.——

I rest thy faithful Friend to serve thee,

E. H.

[*From the original.*]

No. LXVI.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX (LATE FELL.)

London, 27th of 3rd mo. [5th mo.] 1670.

DEAR M. F.

MY dear love is unto thee in the unchangeable Truth, even the same as it was from the beginning; the Truth is my life and delight above all things in this world. I have the most cause of any man to remember the Lord's love to me, because I have partaken of so many mercies both inwardly and outwardly, blessed be his name for ever! my heart is every day engaged more and more unto him: and the more I taste, the more I desire of his love and kindness.

The chief cause of my writing is, to give thee an account how it is with us. I do judge that thou hast heard ere this, how G. F. was taken on the First day after the Act came forth, at Gracious Street, for speaking in the Court to the people. The Mayor was very civil to him.* The last First day the meetings were very quiet every where, except at Gracious Street: they took W. Warwick, and had him before the Mayor, who fined him: all else was quiet within doors, and very full meetings; and every day else this week all was very quiet, and within doors in all places in and about the City. Last First day they broke up Watson's meeting, the Presbyterian, at Devonshire House:—I stood by, and saw them take three away before the Mayor;

* See George Fox's *Journal* under date 1669—1670, for a detailed account of his arrest on this occasion.

one of them seemed to be a young non-conforming priest.*

G. F. is about Waltham, and I think may not

* This was a period of renewed severities and persecutions against Friends, and also other dissenters. The Act against Conventicles of 1664, continued in force for three years or thereabouts : many were the sufferings of our Friends under the operation of this cruel law. "The execution of it," (G. Whitehead remarks) "tended to the great oppression and ruin of many of the King's innocent peaceable subjects and families, especially of the people called Quakers, whom the persecutors in that three years' time, (while the said Act was in force,) furiously endeavoured to rid the nation of by banishment, or to force them to conform to that church, whereof those persecutors were members."

In the year 1670, this Act was again renewed : it received the Royal assent on the "11th of April," and came into force the "10th of May," answering to the 10th of 3rd month, 1670. There were clauses added to this renewed Act, of yet greater rigour than before ; it was to be "construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing of Conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof." [*Extract from the Act.*] "The agents chiefly employed for that work, were generally a company of idle, profligate, and mercenary informers," who were thus let loose upon Friends : one-third of the fines imposed by the Act, being set down to the informer, in cases of conviction. "Thus were we exposed and laid open by a law, to be devoured by beasts of prey, (writes Wm. Crouch,) and neither our own innocence, nor our own houses, (according to the old maxim in law, a man's house being his castle,) could defend us, or preserve us from being ruined by unreasonable and wicked men.*"

* Neale, in his *History of the Puritans*, speaking of the cruel consequences of this Act against Conventicles, thus expresses himself :

"Great numbers were prosecuted under this Act, and many industrious families reduced to poverty."—"The Act was executed with such severity in Starling's Mayoralty [in London,] that many of the trading men of the City were removing with their effects to Holland, till the King put a stop to it : informers were every where at work, and having crept into religious assemblies in disguise, they

come to Town *while* next week. The King has been at Dover two weeks; he is expected in again this day; and then, they talk about the Town we shall have toleration.

This is the sum of what I have to write at present, from thy lo: friend,

E. H.

[*From the original.*]

levied great sums of money upon minister and people." In an Archbishop's letter to his Bishops in this day, (quoted by Neale,) he thus writes, in allusion to the Act and its effects: "I have confidence under God, that if we do our parts now at first seriously, by the assistance of the civil power, *considering the abundant care and provision the Act contains for our advantage*, we shall in a few months see so great an alteration in the distraction of these times,"—"as that the seduced people would be returning from their seditious and self-seeking teachers, to the unity of the Church," &c. &c.

After alluding to the various contrivances of the non-conformist ministers to evade the effects of this Act, Neale proceeds to describe the conduct of Friends under it.

"The behaviour of the Quakers was very extraordinary, and had something in it that looked like the spirit of martyrdom. They met at the same place and hour as in times of liberty; and when the officers came to seize them, none of them would stir; they went all together to prison; they stayed there till they were dismissed, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor pay the fines set upon them, nor so much as the prison fees. When they were discharged, they went to their meeting house again as before; and when the doors were shut by order, they assembled in great numbers in the street before the doors; saying, they would not be ashamed, nor afraid, to own their meeting together in a peaceable manner to worship God; but in imitation of the prophet Daniel, they would do it the more publicly, because they were forbid. Some called this obstinacy, others firmness; but by it they carried their point, the Government being weary of contending against so much resolution."—p. 673—676. vol. ii. *History of the Puritans*.

Neale does not appear an unprejudiced writer, when speaking of the Friends of that day; the foregoing testimony coming from him, may therefore be deemed the more worthy of notice.

No. LXVII.

JOHN ROUSE TO SARAH FELL.

Wansworth, 15th of 6th mo. [8th mo.] 1670.

DEAR SISTER,

— MEETINGS yesterday were pretty quiet, to what they have been sometimes. I was yesterday at Gracious-street meeting, which was in the street;— and as near as I could judge several thousands [were] at it; but by reason of the multitude of rude people who came mostly to gaze, it was more like a tumult than a solid assembly; which was no small grief to me to see. William Penn was there, and spoke most that was spoken: there were some watchmen with halberts, and musketeers came to take him down while he was speaking; but the multitude crowded so close about him, that they could not come to him: but to prevent further disturbance, he promised, when the meeting was done, to come to them; and so he and one Mead [William] who is lately convinced, went to them: they carried them before the Mayor, and he committed them for a riot. I hear the Mayor was very rough with William Penn.* Thos. Beedle was committed from Horsledown meeting for speaking. Many of the professor's meetings were broken up, and some committed; but they skulk very much up and down in holes and corners, and when they are discovered, fly away.

* See the account of their memorable trial at the Old B ey in W. Penn's Works, &c.

I have not much to add for thee, but that we are all well; and remember our dear love to my mother, thyself, our sisters, our little ones, and the rest.

Thy dearly lov : brother,

J. R.

[*From the original.*]

No. LXVIII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

London, the 5th of the 1st mo. [3rd mo.] 1671.

DEAR M. F.

My dear love in the everlasting Truth is unto thee and to all thy family : my soul is bound up with thee in the covenant of love and life ; and I hope I shall never give thee occasion to forget me, but that I may be still in thy remembrance when thou callest upon the Lord : for my trials and exercises are many ; and my bodily weakness is a great exercise to me ; but I have left off all my employment in printing books, by reason of my weakness.

Dear Margaret, all my care is, that I may lay my head down in peace and rest with the Lord Jesus, whom I have loved from a child, and in whom my trust is for evermore ; who hath still supported me in all my trials, troubles, and exercises, that I have met with,—blessed be the Lord ! who is a present

help to all that trust in Him in the time of their need.

Here is a ship lately arrived from Barbadoes; and I suppose thou wilt receive some account from some others concerning thy dear husband,* who, I understand, is very well again. I saw a letter from John Hull, who intends to come over again in William Baily's or J. Freeman's ship. It seems the Council there have been very busy, in endeavouring to make an Act, in imitation of the Act here, against conventicles; but they find some opposition against it, so that, it may be, it may come to little. There is great pressing of seamen, and beating up for volunteers to send to France; so that it is like to be a dismal summer. Here are two ambassadors from Holland, and very fair offers, as I hear, for an accommodation, and from Spain likewise; which makes a rumour as if our King would stand neuter, and not assist either France or Holland; but this is much doubted by many.

Things are pretty well and quiet here, in relation to Friends and Truth; only [we are] kept out of our meetings at Ratcliff and Wheeler Street still, but not by soldiers; and sometimes [we are] let in, when the constable is moderate. Things are pretty quiet generally in the counties also; and the good seed grows up and increases, in the midst of the troubles that are in the world.

———— I rest thy loving friend.

E. H.

[From the original.]

* Then in Barbadoes, who had been very sickly there.—*See Journal*, 1671.

No. LXIX.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

London, 3rd of 8th mo. [10th mo.] 1671.

DEAR M. F.

MY dear love is unto thee, in that which is beyond expression : and though I am outwardly but weak, still the Lord knows that my heart is fervent unto him : and he lifts up my head, else I should faint and fall under. ———

Ann Travers and her daughter's dear love is to thee.——Things are pretty quiet and well here at present. The Parliament is prorogued till the 20th of October, 1672. There is like to be war again, some talk, between Holland and England ; but France and Holland go certainly to war. There has been a great deal of hurt done by the last great storm ; above an 100 sail cast away : Samuel Ellis is judged to be lost, also two more Friends' vessels, men and all. William Baily and J. Tiplady were in the storm, but were preserved : it has broke down the banks in Lincolnshire, and drowned the country for twelve miles, and carried away their corn and cattle and goods, and some were drowned : the like storm hath not been heard of for many years. This is the most from thy loving friend.

E. H.

[*From the Original.*]

No. LXX.

ON THE KING'S DECLARATION FOR THE RELEASE
OF FRIENDS OUT OF THE PRISONS IN 1672.

[GEORGE WHITEHEAD, in his *Christian Progress*, p. 346, &c., states, "There was but little respite from persecution in twelve years time, from the year 1660 unto 1672, in which was the last war at sea between the English and Dutch; so that one judgment and calamity followed another, plague, fire, and war, unto great depopulation and devastation; shewing God's heavy displeasure against persecution and cruelty, and that spirit which had been so highly at work, against innocent, conscientious, and honest people, (some of whom the Lord delivered by death;) yet many persecutors were so hardened, that they repented not of their cruelties; and we have observed in our times, how suddenly the Lord swept away many of that sort.

"Howbeit by this time [A.D. 1671—2,) the King did seem to bethink himself to take other measures, than to continue persecution to destroy his own subjects, not knowing what issue the Dutch war against him might come to; insomuch that he published a declaration of indulgence to Dissenters, to suspend the execution of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical."

The King, by this declaration, suspended the execution of all penal statutes against all sorts of non-conformists immediately; and all judges and justices, &c. were to take notice of the same, and pay due obedience thereto.

Soon after the said declaration of indulgence was published, Geo. Whitehead addressed the King on

behalf of his suffering Friends in prison, to the number of 400 or upwards; some of whom had endured ten or eleven years' imprisonment. After further exertions, he and his friend Thos. Moore, (for whom the King had some respect,) were permitted to appear at the Council, to be heard on the case. G. W. proceeds:—

“Then Thomas Moor, myself, and our friend Thomas Green, attended at the Council Chamber, Whitehall; and were all admitted in before the King and a full Council. Being called to go up before the King, who was at the upper end of the Council board, I had a fair opportunity to open the case of our suffering Friends as a conscientious people, chiefly to show the reason of our not swearing allegiance to the King;—that it was not in any contempt, or disrespect, either to the King's person or government; but singly, as it is a matter of conscience to us *not to swear at all*, nor in any case, and that, in sincere obedience to Christ's command and Gospel ministry;—[Matt. v. and James v.] When I had opened, and more fully pleaded our suffering Friends' case, the King gave this answer, viz. “I'll pardon them,” &c. Whereupon Thomas Moor pleaded the innocence of our Friends, that they needed no pardon, being innocent, &c. the King's own warrant in a few lines would discharge them: “for where the word of a King is, there is power;” said T. M. The King answered, “Oh! Mr. Moor, there are persons as innocent as a child (or children) new born, that are pardoned, that is, from the penalties of the law; you need not scruple pardon,” &c.—After which G. W. made this answer: “It is not for us to prescribe, or dictate to the King and his Council what methods to take for our Friends' discharge; they know best

their own methods in point of law ; we seek the end thereof, namely, the effectual discharge of our suffering Friends out of prison ; that they may live peaceably, and quietly enjoy their own, &c. Whereupon they all appeared satisfied."—*Christian Progress*, p. 351, 352.

After the occurrence of these proceedings, circular letters were addressed to the sheriffs of the counties, requiring them to make return to the Council board, lists of our Friends confined in their respective gaols. A copy of the circular, sent down to Friends in the counties, is here given.

**CIRCULAR TO THE SHERIFFS FROM THE COUNCIL
BOARD.**

“ AFTER our hearty commendations—Whereas request hath been made unto His Majesty, in behalf of the Quakers, who remain at present in several gaols and prisons of this kingdom, that His Majesty would be pleased to extend his mercy towards them, and give order for their relief ; which His Majesty taking into consideration, hath thought fit, in order to his clearer information, before he resolve anything therein, to command us to write these our letters unto you : And, accordingly we do hereby will and require you to procure a perfect list or calendar of the names, times, and causes of commitment of all such persons called Quakers, as are remaining in any gaol or prison within this county, and to return the same forthwith to this Board. And so nothing doubting of your ready performance of this His Majesty's command, we bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall, the — day of March, 1672.

Your loving Friends.”

GEORGE WHITEHEAD TO STEPHEN CRISP.

London, 3rd of 1st Month, [3rd mo.] 1672.

DEAR S. C.

BEFORE thy letter came to my hand, I had drawn up a paper containing the substance of thine, which (before I had thine) Thos. Moore had given to the King, together with a list of the præmunired Friends, and of those sentenced for banishment, &c. ; which hitherto has been effectual, in order to a further inquiry about Friends, &c. How far the King and Council have proceeded, in answer to the request, I leave it to Wm. Crouch to inform thee. Thy paper is kept for a further occasion, if need be, if our end be not answered by them. But we are encouraged to hope well for divers reasons. I could not well send to write to thee before, being much exercised for the sufferers. The Council yesterday signed the letters to the sheriffs for a return of Friends' commitments, &c. to the Board ; so that they are like to be had with expedition into the several counties.

My very dear love to thee, thy wife, R. Crouch, and Friends.

In haste, thy dear brother,

G. W.

[*From the Original.*]

No. LXXI.

JOHN ROUSE TO MARGARET FOX.

London, 4th of 2nd Month, [4th mo.] 1672.

DEAR MOTHER,

— LAST 6th day the two women took the

grant out of the Attorney General's office, and he gave them his fee, which should have been £5; his clerk took but 20s., whereas his fee was 40s. Yesterday they went with it to the King, who signed it in the Council; and Arlington also signed it, but would take no fees, whereas his fees would have been £12 or £20; neither would Williamson's man take any thing,—saying, that if any religion were true, it was ours. To-morrow it is to pass the signet, and on Sixth day the privy seal, and afterwards the broad seal, which may be done on any day. The power of the Lord hath wrought mightily in the accomplishment of it; and the Lord hath bowed their hearts wonderfully in it,—blessed be his name for ever!—

Thy dear son in the Lord,
John Rouse.

No. LXXII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

London, 13th of 6th Month, [8th mo.] 1672.

DEAR M. F.

MY dear love in the pure Truth, in which is my stay and trust in all exercises, and over all fading things whatsoever. Oh! the Lord keep me in his power, that I may answer his requirings at all times.

I received thy letter, dated the first of this month, wherein I was much refreshed. The weakness of my body is such, that it makes the exercises I meet

with much more hard ; [so that] I am often ready to fall under, by reason thereof.

G. W. and myself have been much employed this summer in the business of the prisoners' liberty ; and it is such a troublesome business to go through, as I have not met with the like : it lies now in the Secretary's hands, ready signed by the King, and wants only dating : I have engrossed it once already, and it contains six of the largest skins of parchment I could get ; and I must engross it once more for the Signet Office ; and from thence it is to go to the Crown Office, or Patent Office, and to be engrossed in Chancery hand, when I suppose it will make at least twelve skins. If we could once get it passed the Signet and Privy Seal, I hope it would soon be done ; in the mean time, we must attend in patience.

Our meetings here and in most or all parts are very quiet, so far as I know. I have not much more to acquaint thee of. My dear love is to thy daughters and to all Friends.

I rest thy lo : Friend,

E. H.

[*From the original.*]

No. LXXIII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

London, 1st of 8th mo. [10th mo.] 1672.

DEAR M. F.

MY dear love in the precious Truth is unto thee and to all thy family.

This is chiefly to acquaint thee, that now our business, which G. W. and myself have taken so much pains and care about this summer, is accomplished, and under the great seal, and two duplicates of the same under the great seal also; the original contains eleven skins of parchment. There are about 500 persons contained in it: how we shall dispense it to the several counties, as yet we are not fully resolved; but expect that a letter from the King's principal Secretary to the respective sheriffs, signifying the pardon, may be effectual to discharge them; but of this thou may hear more in the next.*

* For a full account of the progress and completion of this business of the King's pardon, see *George Whitehead's Christian Progress*, page 355—366. The original patent deed is preserved, with the other records of the Society, in London:—a copy of it is given in the Appendix to *George Whitehead's Christian Progress*.

Among the names of prisoners discharged by this patent, is included the noted John Bunyan from the prison at Bedford. It has been matter of some surprise to the Editor, to discover recently, through a public channel, how little this circumstance respecting John Bunyan being discharged with Friends in 1672, appears to be known in the dissenting community. In *J. Bunyan's Life*, it is stated, "In 1672, Mr. Bunyan was discharged from imprisonment; [from Bedford Gaol, after having been confined there twelve years.] This event is generally ascribed to Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln." The author of this *Life* (published by the Religious Tract Society, and compiled from Scot, Burder, and Ivimey,) then enters into particulars, in what way assistance was supposed to have been afforded in this instance; but no allusion is made to Friends, or to the instrument under which his discharge was actually effected. George Whitehead, in his *Christian Progress*, (page 358) explains the circumstance:—"When the instrument for the discharge of the prisoners was granted to our Friends, there being other dissenters besides Quakers,

I suppose thou heard that the Parliament is prorogued. Things are very quiet here, and a great openness there is in the nation, blessed be the Lord ; who is establishing his Truth in the earth, and makes use of weak and contemned instruments in his hand, to confound the great and mighty things of the world. I hear that John Stubbs and Solomon Eccles are prisoners in Boston, New England.

Friends here did at the Quarterly Meeting take into consideration my pains and care in the service of Truth, and are willing to allow me a man to

in some prisons, as Baptists, Presbyterians, and Independents, some of their solicitors, seeing what way we had made with the King for our Friends' release, desired that their friends in prison might be discharged with ours, and have their names in the same instrument, and earnestly requested my advice or assistance ; which I was very willing to give in compassion to them. Accordingly I advised them to petition the King (with the names of the prisoners in it,) for his warrant to have them inserted in the same patent with the Quakers ; which accordingly they did petition for and obtain. So that there are a few names of other dissenters, who were prisoners in Bedfordshire, Kent and Wiltshire, (as I remember,) in the same instrument with our Friends, and released thereby ; which I was very glad of, that they partook of the same benefit through our industry : for when we had made way and beaten the path, it was easy for them to follow. And indeed I was never backward to give any of them advice (if I could) for their help, when any of them have been in straits, and come to me for advice or help. Our being of different judgments and societies, did not abate my compassion or charity, even towards them, who had been my opposers in some cases : Blessed be the Lord my God, who is the Father and Fountain of mercies, whose love and mercies in Christ Jesus to us, should oblige us to be merciful and kind one to another ; we being required to love mercy, (yea, to be merciful, as well as to do justly,) and to walk humbly with our God."

assist, which is some encouragement to me ;—and I hope, through the Lord's assistance, to perform my office in faithfulness to the end. So this is the most at present.

From thy lo : Friend,

E. H.

[*From the original.*]

No. LXXIV.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

London, 10th of 10th Month [12th mo.] 1672.

DEAR M. F.

MY dear love is unto thee : I received thy letter, and am always glad to hear from thee and of thy welfare ; and am glad to hear thou art well returned to thy home.

We have had no letters lately from thy dear husband,* nor from any with him : the last was sent from John Stubbs out of New England : I suppose he is now in Virginia or Maryland. As concerning the business of Friends' liberty, it is fully executed in all counties, except Durham, Cumberland, Lancashire, and Monmouth in Wales, which are still to do ; all the rest of the counties are discharged. For Cumberland I sent down a liberate to the sheriff about three weeks since ; but it seems by a letter I received from Thos. Stordy, the sheriff was discharged his office the day before ; so this night by the post I dispatched another.

* Then in the West Indies.

liberate to the new Sheriff, which I hope will do effectually. For Durham we have waited till Gilbert Gerrard came, who came last Fourth day; and I expect a liberate to discharge those Friends in a few days. In Lancaster there are but two Friends in that gaol inserted in the patent: G. W. and I have been many times to seek the sheriff of that county, but cannot meet with him; but his deputy saith, that it is a county palatinate, and he hath no power over the prisoners, but the gaoler hath it by patent; so I think we must be forced to send down one of the patents which must be showed to him, by the first opportunity we can.

I have been concerned this week or two with the Council, concerning Thos. Hulson and James Strutt, whose ships, and two more, are stopt by order of the Duke [of York (?)]; for they have made an order in Council, that from that day forward not any vessel, little or great, shall go to sea out of any port in England, without guns; great guns, if great ships, and small guns and granadoes, if small ships; and must give bond to fight, if occasion be. This order is procured by the envious petition of some Barbadoes merchant in this city; which will tend to the great damage of many Friends, whose whole maintenance depends upon the sea trade.

Thy lov. Friend,

E. H.

[*From the original.*]

*Extract from a Letter of Ellis Hookes to M. F.
dated London, 24th of 10th mo. [12th mo.] 1672.*

DEAR M. F.

— I wrote to thee this day two weeks; and I have not much now to write, only to acquaint thee,

that after much solicitation I have been instrumental to get an order for Thos. Hutson and James Strutt to pass to Barbadoes, who are gone to the Downs; which was a great satisfaction to many Friends; —for nobody would believe they should be suffered to go. I have drawn up another *pay* [list] of about fifty more [Friends,] still left in prison through omissions and oversights of the clerks [of the peace (?)] and of sheriffs in their returns; which I intend to present, when the Council sits again after *the idle days* are over.*

I have not much more at present, but my love to thy children Sarah, Susan and Rachel.

I rest thy lov: Friend,

E. H.

G. W. is out of town at present.

[*From the original.*]

No. LXXV.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

London, 9th of 11th mo. 1673, [1st mo. 1674.]

DEAR M. F.

MY dear love is unto thee, and to all thy children.

I received thy letter, and I am glad to hear of thy safe arrival at thy home. And as concerning thy husband, and T. L.† [Thomas Lower] G. W., Thomas Moore and myself have been much con-

* Now commonly called *holidays*, as is supposed.

† Imprisoned in Worcester Gaol.

cerned about it : Thomas Moore read thy paper to the King in his chamber, and had an hour's time with him. It will be too large to relate all that passed between them : only thus, he was very kind to Thomas, and told him he was not willing to do any such thing of himself ; but wished him to come to the Council, (which was last Sixth day was a week ;) where we attended, and the paper was read in the Council, and the matter debated. And Thomas spoke to the King after the Council ; and he told him the result of the Council, which was to this effect,—that there being no law broken by them, he could do nothing ; but they were left to the law to right them : so no relief we could have in the case then. The King is very timorous (it being just at the pinch of the Parliament's coming on,) of doing anything to displease them, his occasions being so great for money, which might something impede the business. This day week we sent down a letter from Wm. Penn's mother to the Lord Windsor, who is Lord Lieutenant for the County,* which is received, as we do understand by G. F.—— We hope that the Lord Lieutenant will be wrought upon by the letter of L. Penn, who is well acquainted with him ; that the old snare of the oath may be waived at the Sessions.—G. W. and myself have not been deficient in turning every stone that might be advantageous for obtaining their liberty, nor yet shall we desist in the matter ; but I fear there is nothing can be done till the term ; except they should præmunire at the Sessions, and then we must apply ourselves again to the King.†

* Worcestershire.

† Refers to the commitment of George Fox and Thomas Lower to Worcester Gaol, as narrated at large in G. F.'s Journal, under date, 1673—4.

I was this day at the Lord Treasurer's, and I have a grant to have orders for each County, to remit the King's part of the fines (levied by force of the last Act) [in the case of the released Friends (?)] If Friends in Lancashire will have one, send me word, they will cost about forty shillings apiece.

The House of Commons sat last Fourth day, and the King was there, and made a speech to them; and the keeper [Lord Keeper (?)] made an eloquent one, pressed them earnestly for a speedy supply of money to carry on the war, showing the danger if delayed, and of the ill consequence the disaffection of his people would be to him in this juncture, and that he had never more need of their concurrence; and that whatever was wanting to secure religion or property more than what he had done, let them propose what reasonably they would, and he was ready to receive it.

So, dear Margaret, I have given thee an account of things as they stand at present, and in that true and sincere love, which was always in my heart to thee, I remain,

Thy friend,

E. H.

[*From the original.*]

GEORGE WHITEHEAD AND ELLIS HOOKES TO
MARGARET FOX.

London, 27th of 11th mo. 1673, [1st mo. 1674.]

DEAR M. F.

OUR dear love in the truth and sincerity of our hearts salutes thee, and thy family.

E. H. having given thee an account before, of our endeavours and labours for thy husband's liberty before the Sessions, it is our business now to mention what has passed since. At Sessions they tendered him the oath, through the instigation of Parker,* after some discourse, and fair carriage from the Justices; but they released Thomas Lower, pretending that he had good friends as before: we suspected that Doctor Lower's† soliciting only on his brother's behalf, and procuring a letter to the Lord Lieutenant only for him, might be some impediment to G.'s liberty. But now at the beginning of the term, we have procured Habeas Corpus, and sent down to Worcester last Seventh day, to remove G. and his cause to the King's Bench, within ten days' time; since which we could not as yet hear, but expect shortly to hear whether the Sheriff allows of it; if not, we think to proceed on for another. We have done in this, according to G. F.'s desire; not doubting if he come up, his bonds will be easier here; for in all likelihood they intend to run him to a præmunire at the Assizes at Worcester.

We are in haste; so with our love to all thy children and Friends that way.

Thy dear friends and brethren,

G. W.

E. H.

* The Justice who was so severe against them, and who committed them.

† G. F. states that Dr. Lower was one of the King's physicians.

No. LXXVI.

GEORGE FOX TO HIS WIFE.

London, 6th of 1st mo. [3rd mo.] 1674.

DEAR LOVE,

To whom is my love, and to T. L. [Thos. Lower] and his M. [Mary] and S., R., and I., [daughters of M. F.] and the rest of Friends, in that which is over all, and changeth not.—

There hath been a book* given to the King and Council, and both the Houses of Parliament; and they do generally acknowledge the reason of the thing: and Friends did attend the Parliament; and they were so taken with the thing, that they had intended to have done something, had they sat longer. And Friends gave some of them to the Mayor and Aldermen and Common Council; and they called them into the Mayor's Court, and were very civil, and did generally confess the reason of the thing. I have sent to Barbadoes, and Scotland, and Ireland, and Virginia, for Friends to take the substance, and give to their parliaments, assemblies and governors: and they sing them about the streets: and I desire that you at your Monthly and Quarterly Meetings would send for some of them, and give them on [the] assizes [to] all the justices, and them that be in power, and bailiffs, or mayors; for they do give a great light to dark people: and it was given to the judges and the

* The book may have been the following: "The Case of the People called Quakers relating to Oaths or Swearing," 1673.—*Whiting's Catalogue*.—See also G. F.'s *Journal* under this date.

men of the jury; and Friends have distributed many of them to under officers.

That which S. [Sarah (?)] writes, of some of them [the family (?)] coming up to me, I can say little how I may be ordered; for they moved the Court to have me down to Worcester, and have got a *habeas corpus* and a warrant for the same purpose; and a great jumble and work there hath been about it: but the Truth is over all, and I am in the Lord's hands. The King can do nothing, it being in the judges' and the sheriffs' hands; so they do suppose that I must go to Worcester assizes or sessions.

The salmon thou speaks of, is not yet come, neither do they know by what carrier; nor where he inns.

I had written to you before, but there hath been a great jumble [?] about me, and is still: but the Lord is at work among them, and it will be well; blessed be the Lord.*

So in haste, my love to you all,

G. F.

London, mo : 1, day 6, 1674.

[From the original, the whole being in G. F.'s handwriting, with post mark.]

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

Southwark, 5th of 3rd mo. [5th mo.] 1674.

DEAR M. F.

MY dear and tender love is unto thee in the Truth, which is pure for ever.—Blessed be the Lord, whose

* See *G. F.'s Journal*, under 1674, for the satisfactory termination of his imprisonment and trial.

mercies endure for ever, and who has always had regard to his tender seed; which the enemy has always sought to root out, and to hinder the growth of, inwardly and outwardly: but the Lord has been the stay and strength of his in all their exercises.

Dear Margaret, I suppose thou wilt hear by other hands that thy dear husband is discharged of his imprisonment at the Sessions;* so I need not write much: he is coming for London I hear.—My dear love is to all thy children.—I hope we shall see thee here at the General Meeting.†

From thy loving friend and brother,

E. H.

[*From the original.*]

No. LXXVII.

[THIS next letter refers to G. Fox's further imprisonment in Worcester Gaol under sentence of *præmunire*‡:—whilst laying in this prison he was taken very ill, so that his life was despaired of. His wife, however, interceded with the King for his release, which

* He "had liberty only to go at large till next Quarter Sessions."—*Journal*, 1674.

† Which was held in London, the 16th of 4th mo. [6th mo.] 1674.

‡ The penalties of which were very severe, viz.—to be put out of the King's protection, and forfeit lands and goods to the King, and the body of the sufferer to remain in prison at the King's pleasure or during life, and under this reign, banishment.

he was willing to grant by a pardon; this G. F. could not accept, as it implied guilt. He was then a second time brought up to the King's Bench bar on habeas corpus, the 11th day of 12th month, for the trial of the errors in his indictment, which were found so many and so gross, that it was quashed; he was then freed by proclamation, after about fourteen months' restraint in or out of the gaol.]

WILLIAM PENN TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 1st of 10th mo. [12th mo.] 1674.

DEAR G. F.

MY fervent upright love salutes thee.

Thine per post and [by] E. M., I have. For thy business it becomes me not to say what I have endeavoured; but I have with much diligence attempted to get all done as I should desire: I am yet resolved to make one push more about it; so that I cannot write a positive and conclusive account till next Seventh or Second day; by which time I hope to have an answer of this great man: his uncle lately died, and left him £3000 per annum, and [he] just married, which did divert the matter. I wrote concerning the writ of error, that it must be received in open session, and the record of the judgment certified by the clerk to the judges of the King's Bench; and if then it appear that there is error, to bear an habeas corpus, thou shalt have one.—The King knows not that thou refuseth a pardon, only that we choose rather a more clear and suitable way to thy innocence: I am, and *in stay*, in town, to do my utmost. The Lord God knows I would come

in thy place to release thee; but the Lord's will be done*

Dear George, things are pretty quiet, and meetings very full, and precious, and living; blessed be the Lord God or ever!

—As for the sufferings I have spoken to G. W.; they say there is not stock for such a work; that they have neither press nor materials for such a considerable work; and that £1500 will scarce do it.

—The name of the everlasting Lord God be blessed and praised, for His goodness and mercies, for ever, saith my soul:—He is our blessed rock,—the life, joy, and length of our days,—the blessed portion of them that believe and obey.

My unchangeable love flows to thee, dear George, and in it I salute thee, thy dear wife, and T. L., and M. L., with Friends.

I am,

Thy true and respectful Friend,

Wm. Penn.

[*From the original: addressed to Edward Bourne, Physician, in Worcester. For G. F.*]

* From an original letter of Wm. Penn to George Fox, (which came to hand whilst this sheet was in type,) "dated 20th of 9th mo. [11th mo.] 1674," the following extract is made:—"— A Lord, a man of noble mind, did as good as put himself in a loving way to get thy liberty. He prevailed with the K—— [King] for a pardon; but that we rejected: then he pressed for a more noble release, that better answered Truth; he prevailed, and got the King's hand to a release: it *sticks* with the Keeper [Lord Keeper;*] and we have and do use what interest we can. The K—— is angry with him; and promised very largely and lovingly: so that if we have been deceived, thou seest the grounds of it. — Things are brave as to truth in these parts,—and great conviction upon people."

* Sir Heneage Finch; who was sometimes rather stiff with his Royal Master.

No. LXXVIII.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 27th of 10th mo. [12th mo.] 1675.

DEAR G. F.

MY very dear and sincere love in Christ Jesus, is hereby manifested to thee; even that pure unchangeable love, which the God of my life did shed abroad in my heart in the dawning of his blessed day; and which lives in my heart, and flows to thee: in which I dearly salute thee, and M. F. with T. and M. Lower, I. [Isabel] Sara, Susan and R. [Rachel] Fell, with all in that family, whose hearts are sincere and upright to God.

Dear George, by this thou may know that Friends here are generally well, and our meetings [are] very full and peaceable; and the power and presence of the Lord is in the midst of our assemblies.

We have of late been exercised with Pennyman, Boyce, and Chadwel [opponents :] but the power of the Lord is over them, and of late we have been quiet. Yesterday, Boyce and Chadwel were at Gratia Street [Gracechurch Street] meeting; but there was very little disturbance, and the meeting ended in peace; and all the rest throughout the City were peaceable. That which at present is weighty upon our spirits is, the division betwixt the two Johns [John Wilkinson and John Story,] and Friends of the North; and though there has been much writing to and fro, and endeavours used, yet little is yet

brought forth to put an end to these sad rents.* It has been some time in my mind to write to thee, concerning the choice of the six Friends to go down into the North, to have a rehearsing of matters and things now in difference; of which number I am chosen one, whom the Friends in the Second day's Meeting did nominate: though I was not present at the beginning of the meeting, for I came that morning from Rickmansworth. When I understood how things had been in the meeting that day, and that I was chosen, &c. the thing fell as a weight upon me; and I told Friends my mind, that I could not then consent, and desired time to weigh the thing. And truly, George, to this very day I have a straitness in my mind, seeing very little likelihood of a reconciliation; for the former judges I understand are satisfied in their judgment, and are resolved to stand by it, as some have said. Now if we should come and join with them, and if it should so fall out that they and we should differ in some things, my fear and godly jealousy is, that instead of making up breaches, more may be made;—for which God knows I would not be an instrument; for I have loved peace from my youth, and hated strife.

—In the first appearance and work of God in our souls, there was a reconciliation to God in our souls and spirits, before we were reconciled and cemented in heart and mind one to another. Also something is further to be minded, whether in this juncture of time, such a meeting can be borne in the country without disturbance; for it will be hard to have such a meeting so private, (Friends coming

* See John Burnyeat's Journal (SELECT SERIES) p. 223, 226, respecting these Separatists.

from hence, and from Bristol,) but it will be taken notice of. These with other things are straits and difficulties in my way; though I stand resigned, and could be willing to travel hundreds of miles to be serviceable for the good and peace of the church.

Dear George, I desire to have a few words from thee: I shall not add further at present, but leave all things to the Lord, desiring to be guided by His wisdom in all things; that so long as I have a being in this world, I may live to his glory, who gives me life and being.

I rest thy brother in my measure of grace received from God.

A. P.*

[*From the original.*]

LXXIX.

ROBERT BARCLAY TO STEPHEN CRISP.†

London, 3rd of 5th mo. [7th mo.] 1676.

DEAR S. C.

— I KNOW thou art glad to hear of Truth's prosperity in these parts: I have notice from some that

* This dear Friend died in 1689:—the entry in the *London Burial Register of Friends*, respecting him is the following:

"Alexander Parker of Edmonds, Lombard Street, London, (minister of the gospel) aged about sixty years, died, as the common searchers report, of a fever, the 9th of 1st month, 1688—9, and was interred in Friends' Burying Ground in Bunhill Fields."

† The death of Stephen Crisp is recorded in the *London Register of Burials*, as follows:—

have lately been with the Princess Elizabeth, that she speaks much to Friends' advantage, and saith that the Friends have been falsely reported of.

I have at last, after long and tedious attendance, near finished my business; for the D. of Lauderdale told me yesterday, he had received order to give me a letter to the Council for Scotland, in order to grant Friends their liberty; * which he has promised to give me to-morrow: so that I purpose in two or three days to be going homewards.

My love is with thee and thy wife, &c.

I rest thy brother in the Truth,

R. B.†

[*From the original.*]

LXXX.

FROM THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS TO FRIENDS.

London, 21st of 11th mo. 1680. [1st mo. 1681.]

DEAR FRIENDS,

As we ought not to be discouraged in our endea-

"Stephen Crisp, late of Colchester, in the county of Essex, since a lodger at William Crouch's in Gracechurch-street, London, aged about 64 years, died the 28th day of the 6th month called August, 1692, at Wansworth, in the county of Surrey, and was buried in Chequer Alley, the 31st of 6th mo. [8th mo.] 1692."

* Relates to the imprisonment of his father and other Friends.—*See Jaffray's Diary*, p. 338, 339.

† The initials only of R. B.'s signature are most commonly met with at the foot of his letters; they are joined together as in the fac-simile given in a subsequent page.

vours for the relief of the oppressed by any present disappointments, so we desire that all Friends who are in capacity, (as they have freedom and clearness,) may appear and make what good interest they can, in this election of Parliament men, for sober, discreet and moderate men; such as live in love with their neighbours, that are against persecution and popery, and that deport themselves tenderly towards our Friends. Be very cautious of giving any just occasion of offence. We desire God's wisdom may be with you, in the discharge of your duty and conscience in these things.

And whereas this vote was passed by this Parliament, the day they last prorogued, viz. "Lunæ, 10-mâ. die, January, 1680. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, that the persecution of Protestant-Dissenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom:" we desire that Friends may take a special account of all persecutions and sufferings, which any Friends in your county undergo, contrary to this resolve of Parliament, since the passing thereof, or since the beginning of this last Session of Parliament; and send up an exact and plain account thereof, in order to present it to the next Parliament.

(Signed)

On the behalf of our Meeting for Sufferings,

Ellis Hookes.*

[Addressed "For John Heywood, at his house in Amersham, Bucks."]

* Ellis Hookes died about ten months after the date of this letter: in our *London Register of Burials* he is

No. LXXXI.

[THE first of these two Letters relative to the decease of George Fox is probably known to Friends; but the latter it is believed has not been before in print.]

London, the 15th of 11th mo. 1690.

TO HENRY COWARD, THOMAS GREEN, THOMAS DOCKREY, RICHARD BARROW, WILLIAM HIGGINSON, AND THOMAS WIDDERS, [*probably of Lancaster.*]

MY dear Friends and well-beloved brethren, with whom my life is bound up in the covenant of God's gracious, glorious light, wherein consisteth our life and peace: as we keep our habitations and dwelling places therein, we shall be preserved near unto the ocean of all love and life, and know the fountain unsealed, and the springings of it to bubble up in our own particular bosoms: wherein we may drink together into the one Spirit, by which we are sealed, in the enjoyment of the heavenly power that sanctifies;—in the living sense and consoling virtue of which, according to measure, I do dearly value you all.*

Well, dear Friends, before this comes to your hands, I [conclude] you have an account of the de-

scribed "of Horsleydown in Southwark, scrivener," and that he "died the 12th of 9th month, 1681, of a consumption (having been clerk to Friends in London about twenty-four years:)—he was buried in Checker Alley."

* Some disadvantage is felt, as regards the copy of this Epistle, in not having had the original to transcribe from.

parture of our ancient Friend and honourable elder in the church of God, George Fox ; who was this day buried, in the presence of a large and living assembly of God's people, who did accompany him to the ground, and was supposed to be above 4000 Friends. The meeting-house at Gracechurch-street could not contain them, nor the court before the door,—many could not get to within hearing of the testimonies. Many living, open, powerful testimonies were published in the meeting house, and many in the grave-yard, among many tender hearts, watery eyes, and contrite spirits. The London Friends were very discreet, to order all *passages* and concerns relating thereto with great wisdom every way : there being six monthly meetings belonging to this city, six chosen Friends were nominated and appointed out of every monthly meeting, who were to carry the corpse, and none else ; and that his relations should all go next the corpse ; that all Friends should go on one side of the street, three and three in a rank, as close together as they could go,—that the other side might be left clear for the citizens and coaches, that were going about their business. The grave yard is a large plot of ground, yet it was quite full, and some of the people of the world were there.

The last week George Fox was at the Quarterly Meeting, the Second day Morning Meeting, the Meeting for Sufferings, and at two meetings for worship ; besides the First day morning meeting, which was at Gracechurch street meeting-house. On the Seventh day, he came to lodge at Henry Gouldney's, [in White Hart Court,] to be near on the First day where he kept the meeting ; and said he was as well that meeting as he had been a long time

before: yet he began to be ill in the evening, about the 5th hour that First day; and departed before the 10th hour in the evening of the Third day following. I was with him most of the time; wherein he spoke many living powerful sentences, to the tendering of the company present. There was no sign of any great pain upon him, neither did he ever complain. Robert Widders' manner of departure and his were much alike, for I saw them both; only George shut up his eyes himself, and his chin never fell, nor needed any binding up, but lay as if he had been fallen asleep,—one would have thought he had smiled: he was the most pleasant corpse that I ever looked upon, and many hundreds of Friends came to see his face, having the most part of three days' time to behold him, before the coffin was nailed up. Friends carried the coffin on their shoulders, without any bier, cloth, or cover, but the natural wood; yet the coffin was very smooth and comely.

Well Friends, about two hours or less before he died, he took me by the hand, and bid me remember his love to Friends where I travelled. I intended to go out of the city on the morrow after he began to be sick; but seeing him ill, it was Friends' mind I should stay, and see how it might be with him; and I had more freedom to stay than to go: and I was glad to see such a heavenly and harmonious conclusion as dear George Fox made; the sense and sweetness of it, will, I believe, never depart from me: in the heavenly virtue of which, I desire to rest; and remain your Brother.

Robert Barrow.*

P.S.—I go towards Oxfordshire to-morrow.

* Robert Barrow was born in Lancashire. He was a zealous labourer in the gospel for twenty-six years, and

I shall now give you an account of the Friends that declared, and as they spoke, one after another, viz. James Parke, Robert Barrow, Ambrose Rigge, Joseph Batt, William Penn, Francis Camfield, Charles Marshall, John Taylor of York, Francis Stamper, George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp; and Thomas Green ended in prayer.*

The Friends who spoke at the grave [were] as follows:—William Penn, Joseph Batt, George Whitehead, John Vaughton, and William Bingley.

I would have a copy of this go to Yallows, [*perhaps* Yealand,] and another to Kendal.

No. LXXXII.

LETTER TO JOHN AIREY,† GIVING AN ACCOUNT
OF THE DECEASE OF GEORGE FOX.

London, 15th of 11th Month, 1690, [1st mo. 1691.]

LOVING FRIEND JOHN AIREY,

THIS comes to acquaint thee, that that ancient, a faithful sufferer for the same in London. On his voyage from Jamaica to Pennsylvania he suffered shipwreck on the Coast of Florida, and with his companions was forced to land among the savage cannibals of the country; there he underwent very grievous sufferings, being often in great danger of death from them. He at length reached Carolina, and from thence got to Philadelphia. Here his health having been so impaired by the severe treatment and trials he had endured in Florida, gave way, and he shortly after peacefully departed; testifying that the Lord had been very good to him all along to that very day. From *Piety Promoted*, vol. i.

* "Notwithstanding the number of preachers, it appears the meeting lasted only about two hours."—*H. Tuke's Biograph. Notices*:—concerning George Fox.

† Probably of Newcastle on Tyne.

honourable, and worthy man, George Fox, is departed this life. He was at Gracechurch-street meeting on First-day last, and gave in his testimony amongst others: after meeting he fell into cold shivering fits, and grew worse and worse, and weaker, until Third day last at night, between nine and ten, he died. In his weakness he desired to be remembered to all Friends, and advised and admonished Friends to fly to the power of God: he died sweetly and quietly, and was sensible to the last. After the meeting on Fourth-day at Gracechurch-street, all or most of the Friends of the ministry there, went into a chamber hard by; as well to condole on the loss and death of that good man, as also to take care about his burial, which is ordered from this meeting-house to-morrow, [Sixth-day,] about four in the afternoon. In the chamber was Wm. Penn, Stephen Crisp, Geo. Whitehead, J. Taylor of York, Wm. Bingley, John Vaughton, Fras. Stamper, John Field, Sam. Waldenfield, John Boucher, and others; and only, as I remember, three of us not preachers. While we sat together under the deep consideration of the loss of that good man, the wonderful power of God—fell upon all in the room; insomuch that not one could contain themselves, but was broken down by the weight of that glory; so that for a considerable time there was nothing but deep sighs, groans, and tears. And after that all had [given vent to their feelings] and grew quiet in their minds, several of them, under that great sense, gave testimonies concerning him, too large here to insert: One said, “a valiant is fallen in Israel this day, and his place there would be vacant, if some faithful ones did not supply that glorious station he was in.”

Another, "that it was his faith, and that it was with him, that that Spirit and power which [had] in so large a measure, dwelt in that body, should extend itself into thousands." Another repeated the antiquity of his standing, service, and faithfulness to the end. Another, that he was [as] a fixed star in the firmament of God's glory, and there he should shine for ever. —I hope I shall never forget that day; the remembrance of it is sweet.

It is ordered that the elders and ancients of Friends take up the corpse first, and six are chosen and matched out of each of the six monthly meetings about London to carry, of which I am one for our quarter, and J. Beliam.—

[This letter is without signature, and is stated to be recorded in a Register Book of Friends at North Shields.]

No. LXXXIII.

FROM THE SECOND DAY'S MORNING MEETING IN
LONDON, TO FRIENDS IN IRELAND.

DEAR FRIENDS,

OUR dear love in the Lord Jesus Christ salutes you. Being sensible of your suffering condition under that public calamity,* we cannot but sympathize with you, and pray God to relieve and ease you; your distressed condition being often in our remembrance before the Lord: to whom we desire you may daily apply your hearts, in fervent prayer with supplication for relief and support; and He will be near to strengthen and comfort you, who is a God that heareth prayer, and a present help in times of

* Civil War in Ireland (!).

need; and [who] will hear and answer the cries of his elect, who cry unto him day and night; and in his own time will plead their cause, and arise in their defence.

Dear Friends, hereby we give you to understand, that the day after the date of this annexed Epistle to you from our dear brother George Fox, being the 11th instant, he was enabled to preach the Truth in our public meeting in White Hart Court, near Gratia's Street (London;) and the same day he was taken with some indisposition of body, more than usual; and on the 13th instant, being two days after, a little after the 9th hour in the night, it pleased God to take him out of the body, unto Himself, whom he had so long faithfully served. On the 16th instant his body was buried from our MeetingHouse, in White Hart Court aforesaid; being attended with a vast concourse of Friends and people: and a very heavenly and blessed solemnity [was] held, both at the meeting and burying ground. His great love and care was for Friends and the spreading of Truth; and he particularly mentioned you, the very day of his departure; being sensible to the last, and ending his days in his faithful testimony, as our God in his wisdom ordered.

Unto whose divine power and care we recommend you; and in his tender love in Christ Jesus, we remain
Your faithful Friends and Brothers,

From our Second day's
Morning Meeting in
London, the 26th
day of 11th month,
1690, by order of
the Meeting.

Geo. Whitehead, Steven
Crisp, James Parke,
John Elson, Peter
Price, Wm. Bingley,
Francis Stamper, Ri-
chard Needham, John
Field.

[*The Epistle is in G. Whitehead's hand writing.*]
It is addressed

“For Friends in Ireland, to be annexed unto G. F.’s Epistle, dated the 10th of 11th mo. 1690.”

[This Epistle from G. F. to Friends in Ireland, is inserted at the end of his Journal; it is preceded by the following paragraph: “Not long after, I returned to London; and was almost daily with Friends at meetings. When I had been near two weeks in Town, the sense of the great hardships and sore sufferings, that Friends had been and were under in Ireland, coming with great weight upon me, I was moved to write the following Epistle, as a word of consolation unto them.”—The Journal then concludes, with an account of his peaceful departure and of his funeral.

The following is a copy of the entry in our *London Register of Burials*, respecting him:

“George Fox, minister of the gospel, aged about sixty and six years, departed this life the 13th day of 11th month, 1690—1, and laid down his head in peace with the Lord, at Henry Goldney’s house in White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street, London; being viewed by the common searchers, they report he died of a stoppage in the stomach: and was buried in Friends’ burying ground at Bunhill Fields, the 16th of the same.”]

No. LXXXIV.

[THE last Letter to be brought forward under this division of the work, is from Thomas Ellwood; it

relates to the preparation by him for the press, of the *Journal* of George Fox, which was published in 1694. His other Works, viz.: his *Epistles*, and his *Doctrinal Collection of Writings*, followed—the former in 1698, the latter in 1706. It is believed that much diligence and exertion were used to collect together from various quarters the writings of George Fox, for the compilation of these works.]

THOMAS ELLWOOD TO JOHN FIELD.

Hunger Hill, 16th of 2nd mo. 1693.

DEAR FRIEND,

THINE of the 11th instant, I received to-day; and I desire thee to acquaint the Friends, that dear G. F.'s *Journal* is (I hope) well near transcribed; for though some years remain still to be digested, yet being the latter part of his time, they will yield less matter than the former years have done. I am now in the year 1684, and am just bringing him over out of Holland, from his second and last voyage thither. I wish I could have dispatched it with more expedition; but can assure Friends and thee, I have not neglected it, nor been lazy at it. I have much other public business lying upon me, and some private, which may not be wholly neglected: but the main of my time has been spent on this service. As to hastening it to the press, Friends may do as they please; but if I may take leave to offer my advice, I think it were well that the whole were deliberately and carefully read over again, before it be committed to the press; that nothing may be omitted fit to be inserted, nor any thing

inserted fit to be left out. I left above 200 sheets with W. Mead last summer, which I hope he has looked over since, at more leisure than we did then. So that, if Friends be urgent to set the press to work, I dare engage (if God be pleased to give me life and health) it shall not want copy, when they shall be wrought off: yet in a work of this kind, I would choose rather to answer expectation in exactness than speed. I am engaged (if the Lord permit) to attend the Yearly Meeting, and hope I may by that time, give a more full account of what remains in my hands. Meanwhile, in very hearty love to the Friends, with thyself and wife.

I remain thy true friend,

Tho: Ellwood.

[*From the original.*]

Addressed to "John Field, Haberdasher, at the sign of the Harrow, George Yard, Lumbard Street in London."

LETTERS, &c.

HISTORICAL; CONCERNING EVENTS, SERVICES, &c.; IN THE COUNTRY.

UNDER this head a limited number of Letters have been selected, out of a large variety:—they are placed, as before, in the order of dates.*

No. LXXXV.

[JOSIAH Cole in his testimony concerning the author

* The Letters here following, respecting religious *services, &c. in the Country*, are necessarily of a very detached character, compared with those we have just left; and in point of historical information or illustration, must not be expected to be of equal interest with them. Much allowance should, and doubtless will by the candid reader, be made, for the style of writing in these letters of so distant a period; indeed he will expect they will wear their own *peculiar character*: it may be believed, that their religious value, and the devoted sentiments of brotherly love and deep piety scattered through them, will, to those readers, not be lost or passed by unappreciated.

of the following Letter, writes :—although he [Richard Farnsworth] was (before) a man of great abilities, and parts, and knowledge, and accounted of among men, even excelling many of his equals ; yet he was content and willing, in obedience to the power of God, to become a fool to the world, and to be stripped and emptied of his own wisdom and knowledge, and to suffer the loss of all worldly reputation and favour, and the pleasures and delights thereof, that he might win Christ Jesus, and be found his servant, clothed with the righteousness of faith.—His service was very great for the Lord in his day ; for he was so furnished with heavenly wisdom and understanding through the grace of God, and so seasoned thereby, that his patience, meekness and humility exceeded many.—*Josiah Cole, The Last Testimony, &c.* p. 5. 7.

This Letter gives an account of some very early services in Yorkshire.]

RICHARD FARNSWORTH TO TWO FRIENDS.

1653.

DEAR BRETHREN,

MY dear love to you both with the rest of our dear Friends that way : I am in good health, praises be to the Lord for his everlasting mercies to me.

I have gone through much, since I was with you ; but I found the Lord exceeding large to me. I was at Stanley on the First day ; the power of the Lord was much manifested, very many were wrought on. There was one of Marshall's* hearers wrought

* Marshall was the priest of Wakefield. *Sewell's History*, vol i. p. 66.

on, and one of the Baptists, that day, and Captain Siddall's wife with many others. The next day we went about sixteen miles to Wakefield, and the people followed us much. In the market place I was drawn forth to speak, and the people were very audible, till a schoolmaster came and stirred them up. Then as we were in the crowd, came Captain Siddall's wife; and she was wrought on in the tumult, and cried out,—“this is the power of the Lord:” she was very proud, but now is humbled. Doctor Hodgson was shaken a little, and he is very loving to us; we went into his house, and there the people got in as many as could thrust. I was drawn forth much to speak unto them; they wondered at the work of the Lord. There was such confusion among the people, that I was moved to stand upon the table, and spoke with much power amongst them; they were all silent, and were very attentive to hear me a long time; neither did they speak anything unto me afterwards. But at night when we came out of the town, the devil did rage amongst them,—his kingdom being so struck at; so that they stoned us, stones flew as fast as bullets in a battle; but the Lord did carry every one above it, that not so much as one received any harm, but all were made to rejoice. But had not the Lord's power been much manifested, none could have escaped with their lives; had not the Lord been on our side, when the enemies rose up against us, we had been swallowed up quick. But all [were] made mightily to rejoice; praise and honour be unto the Lord for ever!

In the morning we went to York. Friends at York are very well, all but Jane Holmes, she is something weak in body. Friends are close shut

up in prison, and none of us might come at them. There is one — Sikes at Knottingley, and two or three more in prison about tithes: this Sikes is a great man, of £300 or £400 a year by relation; he hath proclaimed against tithes. He is very loving to our Friends; he had us up into his chamber; I was brought to speak much to him, and he did receive it very lovingly.

We went from thence to Manton, and there are many dear hearts there: Balby Friends were with me; we were two nights and a day there; very many Friends came from other places, and the power of the Lord was much with us there.

We came on to Selby, and stayed there till three o'clock in the morning, and came the First-day morning to Stanley; where there was a great meeting, very many from Leeds, and some from Wakefield, who had not been with us before. So I see the Lord glorifying himself every way to his own praise; but the world is all on a fire. I am much threatened of my life, but I fear not what man can do. I hear that there are warrants out against me for blasphemy. Ah! dear hearts, be valiant; the Lord rides on triumphantly; ever praised be his name!

All Friends here-away are well, and desired to be remembered unto you, with the rest of our Friends, Tho. Killam and Mary Aldam, &c. &c. salute you in the Lord, and the God of love and power be with you.*

* This letter is endorsed by G. Fox, as from R. Farnsworth, but the original is not signed: it was probably written from Balby or that neighbourhood, where R. F. resided.

LXXXVI.

FRANCIS HOWGILL AND EDWARD BURROUGH TO
MARGARET FELL.

Bristol, 1st of 9th mo. [11th mo.] 1654.

DEARLY beloved Sister, and Mother to many, who shall bless thee in the name of the Lord !——

—— On the First day after we came to this city [Bristol,] we had a meeting in the castle of many hundreds ; and afterward we went out (to get from the multitude) to a captain's house, about a mile [from the city ;] but abundance followed us all along the city to that place, so that the house was filled, and it continued late. And every day of the week, either out of the city or in it, we had meetings. On the last First-day we had a meeting at one Captain Bishop's [George Bishop (?)] house in the city—a large house with large rooms, but all were too little ; so in the afternoon we went to a place called the Fort. There were about 2000 people there, and many great men and women, and all silent ; but we could hardly reach them with words, the multitude was so great : yet all was still, and we could not get from them ; so that we were forced to go to a captain's house into a private chamber to hide ourselves. All this sounded through the city, and the priests and magistrates were in an uproar, because they sought something against us.—On the Second day of the week we came into the city, and went to a merchant's house: immediately the Mayor and Alderman, and the Justices of the Peace, and the Priests assembled together into their judgment

hall; and the magistrates sent a serjeant to desire us to come to the council; and we went freely, also many captains and great men of the city.—We went into an inner room, and many great men, friends to us, went in; but they permitted them not to stay. Then we opened our mouths, and said, we were come thither according to their desire: and they questioned us if we knew who spoke to us; we answered that we believed we were before the magistrates or rulers of the city. And they were fired, that we bowed not, nor put off our hats; but we were bold, and told them we did it not in contempt of authority, but for conscience' sake. They asked our names and country, and we declared unto them; and we told them we had been in London about a quarter of a year. They asked us, how we came to the city; and we answered them, and told them the commands and motion of the Lord,—that we had to bear witness to his name, and to declare the gospel committed unto us.—And it was asked us whether our call was mediate or immediate; we answered, immediately; we denied all mediate calls, for they were carnal. They said, if we had the same immediate call, declare it. Then I declared what I had been, and what I was:—we declared where we had habitations, and that at the command of God we left them: and we spoke about a quarter of an hour, and they gave audience.—They asked if we accused all the ministers in England; we said no; there were many ministers of Christ in England, and we had unity with them: but all hirelings and such as sought for their gain from their quarter, we denied. [But] they pleaded for hire; and said the light was natural, and that every one had it not, and the like;

they also said, we dishonoured the gospel. After much striving and contending, when they could not ensnare us, they all cast their ears together, and said, we had tumultuous meetings; to which one of their own [number] answered, there were many godly honest people without tumult. So they could get nought against us, and they commanded us to depart out of the town: but we were bold, and said, we were free-born men, and we knew no law we had transgressed, and therefore we should not be at any man's will; but when He moved us that called us, we should; and come in again as He moved. So we passed away, and all the people were silent, and the priests and magistrates were enraged. We stayed till night, and then went out of the city; and this day we were moved to come in again, and to walk in the streets.

Here is a *pretty* people and a great harvest: it is like that bonds will attend us; but all is one, in the will of God we stand free out of all. John Audland and John Camm we see not yet, but expect their coming.—Here is a thirsty land; and truly, the sound of the gospel committed to us is gone through all the regions round about. The living God of life preserve us in his eternal power and wisdom; in the will of the Lord we stand, and none can take away our joy.

Salute us dearly to G. F.; one hour with him would be great joy to us.—We have want of nothing without; the Lord reward thee (and thou hast thy reward) for thy care and love over all the church of Christ.

Salute us in the Lord to all the saints everywhere; and pray that the living God may be honoured, and his name exalted for evermore. The

God of life and power be with thee, and keep thee and all thy dear family, in his eternal love and power to himself.—

Thy dear Brethren,

F. H.

E. B.

[From W. Caton's Collection.]

No. LXXXVII.

[GEORGE Fox under date of 1654 writes, "About this time did the Lord move upon the spirits of many whom he had raised up, and sent forth to labour in his vineyard, to travel southwards, and spread themselves in the service of the gospel, to the eastern, southern and western parts of the nation: as Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough to London; John Camm and John Audland to Bristol; Richard Hubberthorne and George Whitehead to Norwich; Thomas Holmes into Wales."

The following Letter is from Thomas Holmes, and is probably addressed to George Fox.]

Cardiff, 27th of 12th mo. 1654, [2nd mo. 1655.]

DEAR BROTHER,

THIS is to let thee know of my journey and service in Wales. I came out of Cheshire about five weeks ago, and I stayed two First days in Radnorshire in the mountains, where I had divers meetings, where many of that people called Baptists are convinced of the Truth. There is a great convincement in that part; but the most are Welch, and some cannot understand English. There are three who have the

Welch tongue, who are serviceable, and labour among them; which three Friends came out of the north of Wales. There is one who is a Justice of peace convinced, and is very faithful and serviceable in his place; I was five nights in his house, and had a great meeting at his house; he dwells in the mountains in Montgomeryshire.—After I had been two First days in Radnorshire I passed into Monmouthshire, to a town called Abergavenny, where I got a meeting that evening in the inn where I lodged; and the next day being the market day, I was moved to speak in the market. I drew the people into a convenient place, and spoke a pretty time to them; it cast a sound through the town and country, for not any Friend had spoken there before. The next day, I met with my wife and Alexander Birket, at a place where they had a meeting.—Alexander Birket is in Monmouthshire: two Justices of peace are convinced there. The last First day, I had a meeting four miles from Chepstow, and another on the third day; and this day being the Fourth day, I had a meeting six miles beyond Cardiff at the sea side. To-morrow I pass to a general meeting in Newport at a Justice's house.

Thomas Holmes.

[*From the Original apparently.*]

No. LXXXVII.

[Of this valiant pious young man, James Parnell, the writer of the next letter, it seems scarcely needful

to say anything by way of introducing him to the reader: his cruel imprisonment, barbarous treatment and consequent death in the gaol, from whence this letter is dated, are doubtless so well known to readers of our Society:—He was trained up in the schools of literature, (*Sewell* writes,) and was convinced when not quite sixteen years of age, through George Fox, when in the gaol at Carlisle, in 1653.

For an account of his services in Essex, and his imprisonment in Colchester Castle, see *Sewell's History*, vol. i. under 1655.]

JAMES PARNELL TO WILLIAM DEWSBERY, (in
Northampton Gaol.)

Colchester Castle, 16th of 10th mo.

[12th mo.] 1655.

DEAR and precious brother in the eternal unchangeable truth of God, I do in my measure dearly salute thee. Thou art blessed of the Lord, dear brother; thy fatherly care over me do I own, and thy voice is a comfort to me. I am kept and nourished in the midst of mine enemies, glory be to God the Highest, who hath counted me worthy to bear the bonds of the gospel.

Dear brother, glad am I to hear from thee, and of my dear brother Thomas Stubbs with thee, whom I do love in the Lord, and the rest of thy fellow prisoners,—the Lord hath set [thee] a father over them. I know thy burden is great, for the work lies upon thee; but thy joy is in thy children.

Truly there is a great appearance in these parts, but [there is] much want of ministers, since I was cast in bonds; but a pretty liberty I had amongst them, before they were suffered to lay hold on

me. And great was the work of the Lord, and mightily did it spread, to my great comfort.—And now these bonds have been very serviceable, to the piercing of the hearts of many, and the discovery of the spirits of my persecutors, and [to] the confirming of those in the Truth that were convinced;—they have laboured to make my bonds grievous, but my strength the Philistines know not. Friends are much barred from me, yet not all.—Our tender sister M. S. is here in bonds in the Town Prison; she was put in last evening for speaking to a priest: she hath been in twice before this within a week, but they had not power to keep her in.—

So [may] the same power that keeps thee, keep me; and let thy prayers be for me.

I rest with thee in the brotherly unity, thy tender brother,

James Parnell.

[*From the Original apparently.*] *It is addressed*

“For my dear brother William Dewsbery, in the Common Gaol at Northampton.” &c.

[The following is the record respecting this Friend, preserved in the Register Book for the Monthly Meeting of Colchester:]

“12th of 5th month, 1655. James Parnell [was] sent prisoner to Colchester Castle, by Dionisius Wakeing, Thomas Cooke, Herbert Pelham, and William Harlackenden; for speaking to Priest Willis in the Steeple House at Great Coggeshall; where he remained a prisoner about ten months, suffering much abuse from the jailor’s wife; and there died, an innocent sufferer for the testimony of Jesus.”

No. LXXXVI. *

THOMAS ROBERTSON TO MARGARET FELL.

*Basingstoke in Hampshire,
this 30th day of 10th mo. [12th mo.] 1655.*

DEAR SISTER,

I DEARLY salute thee, and my love reaches to thee, even in that where we meet, and have sweet fellowship and unity.—

The everlasting Truth of our God is much spread abroad in this shire, and many have received our testimony with great gladness and joy : at this our enemies are vexed, and are disquieted ; and they gather together to battle against the Lord and his people. We are counted as sheep for the slaughter, even as the off-scouring of all things, fools and madmen ; and are made a prey upon by this generation of evil-doers.—Condemnation is prepared for them,—who slight the offers and tenders of his love,—even of Him, who would gather them, as the hen gathers her chickens ; yet they will not. What could He have done more, who hath sent his servants, early and late warning them, even beseeching them to be reconciled to God through his dear Son. But none of the princes of this world know Him, neither will they hearken to Him ; and so He is even rejected, disallowed of men, but chosen of God, and to us precious, yea even the chief corner-stone.

Dear Sister, since our last writing to thee,

Ambrose* and I have been for the most part asunder; we have passed through part of this county, as we were moved. At Hampton there are a captain and two lieutenants,—they received the Truth gladly, and several others; and at Portsmouth there were several that owned us.—

There is a *pretty* people hereaways, and there is great need of labourers; pray therefore, that the Lord of the harvest would send forth labourers; for many are coming in, and the Truth is of good report in several places; and the Lord will gather in a people, that was not a people. Ambrose has been serviceable, he was at some steeple houses; and I believe we shall meet together ere it be long, and go towards G. F.

So in that which never changeth, do I remain thy brother in the unity of the Spirit,

Thomas Robertson.

[*From the original apparently.*]

No. LXXXVII. *

THOMAS SALTHOUSE TO MARGARET FELL.

Plymouth, 30th of 11th mo. 1656, [1st mo. 1657.]

M. F.

UNTO thee is my heart united and joined in the

* Ambrose Rigge, who in the Account of his life states, that “a fellow traveller was prepared for me, which was Thomas Robertson of Westmoreland; who was made willing to leave his dear wife and tender babes, to go with me into the Lord’s harvest.”

everlasting covenant of light and life: receive my salutations as one of the fold and family. Let me be had in remembrance, when thy soul is poured forth [unto] thy Father; that, over all deceit and dissembling of unrighteousness, I may be kept, in this hour of temptation and day of trial; now when the voice is heard, saying, "Yet once more will I shake, not the earth only, but the heavens also."——No formed weapon can prosper against the Captain of our salvation and Prince of our peace; none can pluck us out of the Father's hand, who delivers his out of six troubles, and out of seven.——Our bread is sure, and our waters never fail; glory to the Lord for ever!

I am at Plymouth at present, and the next week it is like I shall go into the country; John Braythwate [?] and Alexander* are gone eastward, and George Bewley, I hear, is in Cornwall. These parts lie much on me at present. This business about J. N. [James Nayler] hath made a great tumult in the minds of many weak Friends; my work is to strengthen the weak, and press home to the foundation of God, and not to admire the persons of men.——

I am your brother and companion in tribulations, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus our Head, a servant in the church,

T. S.

[*From the Original.*]

* Alexander Parker; from whom a letter is preserved, addressed to Margaret Fell, dated from Plymouth, the 22nd of 5th mo. of this year, also one from Austle, the 13th of 7th mo.

LXXXIX.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD TO GEORGE FOX.

Chesterton, near Cambridge, 11th of 5th mo.
[7th mo.] 1659.

DEAR G. F.

DEAR brother, my dear and tender love in the Lord, doth flow forth unto thee, as unto a dear and tender father in the effectual Truth; who art honourable, and had in esteem by them that fear the Lord and keep his covenant; wherein thy integrity and diligence for the Lord and his seed, I am truly sensible of.

It was upon me to acquaint thee with some proceedings relating to Truth, chiefly about Cambridge, since I parted from thee; where I had two meetings these two last First-days, besides other two we had the last week. [?] The first meeting I had there was very serviceable on the former First-day; where there were pretty many sober people, and several were reached. But towards the latter end of the first meeting, there came in many rude scholars,—however, they had not power to hurt any as I know; yet after we went out of the room they would scarce go out, but had a desire to make disorder. Whereupon presently the mayor of the town came into our meeting room, like a lion among the wolfish scholars, whom they expected had come to have broken up our meeting. But on the contrary, he chased out the scholars, and threatened them

with imprisonment for their rudeness ; and the mayor went into the college, which is right against our meeting place, and he complained of the scholars to the master or proctors of the college ; and told the master, if they would not take a course with them, to keep them in better order, (he told me this of himself, and others, for I was with him and John Crook,) he must, or send them to prison. So he stood over them, and said that he must protect our meetings and their meetings. Whereupon the scholars and the masters are much troubled, that the mayor should offer to protect our meetings ; and many of them have a great spite against him.

Yesterday, being the last First-day, we had, I think, a more serviceable meeting in Cambridge, than any we have had there yet ; though towards the latter end, some of the scholars were rude, and made noises, and would have pulled me down : one tore at me to have done it ; but there was a secret power over them, which they knew not. And many sober people were smitten to see their filthiness, when I let them see what such men these were, that they make ministers of. Here is much to thunder down in this Cambridge ; but there is much patience and wisdom to be exercised towards them.—I intend to be there the next First-day : —if the knock be not followed now, they will get advantage ; for the Truth hath already gotten a name in the town. The power of the Lord is working over them, though they know it not ; and it is the power only, that must overcome them.

Since I came from thence, I have had a precious service in the edge of Essex and Hertfordshire. I suppose thou may ere now have heard of my service

with the priest at Rickland, at the steeple-house, on the First-day next after I parted from thee; many of his hearers were much reached and overcome with the Truth that day. In the time that the priest was preaching, I took down some of his doctrine; after he had done his preaching, I laid open some of it before his hearers, who were most of them quiet and willing to hear, except two or three professors, and the priest's wife. There was John Crook in Cambridge the last week, whose being there was of service: the scholars and priests are exceedingly tormented and quashed, when any such Friends come to minister against their deceits, as they look upon to be learned. G. Fox* was here the last week, and had one meeting in Cambridge and went towards Essex. William Allen was with me in Cambridge yesterday; he had only leave of the gaoler at Colchester, to come a little time into Cambridgeshire and thereaway. There is great stirrings after the Truth in many places thereaways and other places; truly the harvest is great and the labourers are but few.—These things I was free to make thee acquainted with, in sincere love.

Thy dear brother in the work of the Lord,

Geo. Whitehead

My dear love is to E. B. and Gerrard Roberts, and the rest of the brethren there, [London]. I think this day to pass into Huntingdonshire, but I [propose] to be at Cambridge the next First-day, if the Lord will.

[From the Original, addressed to G. F. in London.]

* Doubtless G. F., Jun.

No. XC.

AMBROSE RIGGE TO MARGARET FELL.

Binscombe in Surrey, 9th mo. [11th mo.] 1659,

—DEAR sister, often art thou in my remembrance, in my labour and travail in the vineyard of the Lord; which is grown sweet and pleasant to walk in, to the praise of God. I received thy lines in Hampshire, when I was in much weakness of body, by which I was much strengthened and refreshed; and truly, dear sister, I hope in the Lord, through his strength, we shall be clear of all: but our trials are many, especially among false brethren, which as for the particulars at present, I shall not commit to paper. Oh! dear sister, if it were not the living power of God, it could never abide all the blows that come against it: but in all this we faint not; but can truly say, our strength is renewed every morning,—glory to God on high!

Here is but one faithful brother with me, in all these south coasts on this side London; nevertheless the Lord makes us able to water many tender plants. The Truth doth much prosper, and an addition daily here is, to the praise of God. We shall give up to spend and be spent for the precious Truth, which is more to me than all the world's glory. I have been [very] weak in body of late, but the Lord hath raised me up again to labour in his harvest.

My love is dear to thee, beyond what can be committed to paper, for the Truth's sake, and thy care over the flock of God; for which God will thee

reward. So with my dear love to all thy dear children and servants in the Truth, I remain
Thy dear brother in the labour of the gospel,



[From the Original.]

No. XCI.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

Grayrigg, 29th of 7th mo. [9th mo.] 1661.

DEAR MARGARET,

IN Him, who is become a place of broad rivers and streams unto us, and the portion of our cup, and the lot of our inheritance,—do I most dearly salute thee.—The former days are not forgotten by me, nor the years past, when we were all made to drink of one cup, and were baptised into the death and suffering of Christ: and were made to drink it willingly, knowing it was our portion allotted unto us of the Lord, which we could not pass, but must drink thereof. And though it was irksome and grievous unto us, when our strength was but small; yet God, out of his infinite love and mercy, strengthened us to bear, and to suffer, and to

deny that which hid immortality and life from us. And [He] bore us up in his arms, and made us to endure with patience the sufferings and the death; that so we might obtain the resurrection of the dead: which indeed was a blessed time—though for a moment it seemed grievous. But now, having obtained the resurrection of the dead, being baptised into the resurrection and into the life, more blessedness is known, even spiritual blessings, which God hath given us to enjoy in heavenly places in Christ Jesus: that like as we suffered one for another and one with another, so we might be made to rejoice one with another and for another, and in Him alone; in whom all our fresh springs are, and from whom our joy and gladness and consolation springs. He hath opened the springs of the great deep, and hath made life spring up, whereby his little ones are refreshed, and the young men strengthened, and the ancient and honourable confirmed and established.—Holy and reverend be His name for evermore, who is exalting his glorious mountain above the top of all the earth; and making Jerusalem the praise and glory and admiration of the whole earth. And let me tell thee, I am no more weary than the first day the sickle was put into the harvest; when we went out sowing the seed weeping and in tears: but seeing sheaves brought home, and full loads into the barn, and full draughts caught in the net, it hath made me look beyond fainting,—blessed be the Lord!—

I am glad thou stays so long in that city, [London,] in which we have had many a burden and weary day: but that fruit is brought forth unto God, plentifully countervails all, and makes

me forget travail.—I have been northward in Northumberland, Bishoprick, and upon the east sea, and back to York: truly the garden for the most part is very pleasant, and gives a goodly smell, now when the south wind blows upon it.

Dearly farewell in the holy covenant of life.—

Francis Howgill.

[*From the original.*]

No. XCII.

MARGARET FELL TO HER SON-IN-LAW
JOHN ROUSE AND WIFE.

Lancaster Castle, 1st of 8th mo.

[10th mo.] 1664.

——As I have said often to thee, give up to be crossed; *that* is the way to please the Lord, and to follow him in his own will and way, whose way is the best. Let nothing enter thy mind concerning any thing [about me,] for I am very well contented in the work of the Lord. I know your care and tenderness was not wanting to Friends: and so be all satisfied in the will of the Lord God. I hope in the Lord that you are all together, ere this come to you. Be all satisfied and content with the will of the Lord; and let neither murmuring nor repining enter any of your minds; and let not sorrow fill your hearts, for we have all cause

to rejoice in the Lord evermore, and I most of all.*

Colonel Kirby causes our bonds to be renewed, and straitened more and more; and they lock up G. F. under pretence of an order that should come from London. Get this enclosed letter of G. F.'s sent to Gilbert Latey, that G. Whitehead and they may draw out what they see convenient.

Margt Fell.

No. XCIII.

JOSIAH COALE TO GEORGE FOX.

*The Darkhouse in Lanston, [Launceston]
12th of 11th Month, 1664, [1st mo. 1665.]*

DEAR GEORGE,

— I hereby give thee to understand that I am every way well, in the work and service of the Lord; which doth prosper, and the Truth doth gain ground daily, and flourisheth in these parts; many have desires after it, and adhere to it. In

* These are the sentiments of the mother of a large family, separated from her home by imprisonment, for her religious testimonies: she was indicted for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and was told if she would not keep a meeting at her house, she should be set at liberty. But she answered the Judge, "I rather choose a prison for obeying God, than my liberty for obeying men contrary to my conscience." She continued a prisoner four years.—*From M. Fell's Works.*

this county of Cornwall, I have had fine service for the Lord; as also all the way down from London, by way of Portsmouth, Southampton, and Weymouth, and so down by the south sea. I know not that I left one meeting unvisited, between London and the Lands-end, but had every day a meeting or two for several weeks together, to the refreshing of Friends; and great comfort and satisfaction I have had in my journey hitherto. I was upon leaving this county, being returned as far as Lanston, where I had a small company together on the Second day last; at which time the Mayor of the town, with his officers and others, came in, and took us prisoners; and that night committed us to the town prison, called "the Darkhouse." On the morrow, [they] called me alone to the Town-hall, before the Mayor and the rest of the magistrates; and examined me of my place of abode, and of my business here: to which I gave them answer accordingly; and told them my business here was to visit my friends, &c. They told me I was a very dangerous person, and suspicious; and caused my pockets to be searched in the open court, and found in it a paper that was written by thee, "To the Ministers and Prophets," &c. about which they made a great stir, asking me if I knew thee, &c. After above an hour's discourse they set me by, and called Benj: Lawrance, who travels with me for company, and examined him in like manner; and then called the rest of Friends, and committed them for refusing to pay 40s. a-piece fine, till they shall be delivered by due course of law. They told Benjamin and me, that they proceeded against us by the law made against Quakers; and fined us £5 a-piece for being at meeting. They intended to have taken

away our horses for the fine, and to send us away with a pass; which when Friends understood, they conveyed our horses out of the town, while I was before the magistrates. When they saw our horses were gone, their rage was so kindled against us, viz. Benjamin and me, that they sent us away alone to the Darkhouse without any mittimus; and gave strict charge that none must come at us, but only to bring in our victuals; and the keeper must hear what we say, and see that we do not write, (though way is made for this, contrary to their knowledge.) The prison we are consigned to doth not afford us the benefit of a chimney, nor [other necessary convenience.] But the power of the Lord God Almighty is above it all and over all; in which we are well content, and are at peace and rest: and this prison is to me as a palace of pleasure, for though we are as "having nothing, yet possessing all things" through Him that hath loved us, and gave Himself for us; by whose blood we are ransomed, to serve the Lord in the new covenant of life,—glory be unto the Lord God Almighty for ever!

And now, dear George, what they may be permitted to do further with us, I do not yet know; though this I know, the rage of some is very great, and [they] are bent to do wickedly. They talk to us of the oath: but if they can find our horses, I suppose they will take them, and send us out of the town; but if not, I cannot tell (nor do I believe they are yet resolved) what they will do with us. But, however, much is stirring in the minds of most people, against their cruel and inhuman dealing with us, to put us so close, in such a cold smokey place, at such a season of the year; [First

month *by our reckoning* :] for they will not allow us to be in a room where a chimney is, though it be not otherwise made use of, and lies void over our heads. I heard that one of the magistrates of the town did proffer the Mayor to be bound body for body for us, that we might be at some chamber in the town fit for men, but it would not be adopted : but we are content, and well over it.

— I desire thee to salute me kindly in the Lord to M. F. and the rest of thy fellow prisoners; and in the love and peace of God,

I remain thine to serve thee,

Josiah Coale.

[*From the original, addressed to Lancaster.*]

No. XCIV.

[THE Friend by whom this letter was written, is stated to have been a justice of the peace. In a letter from Alexander Parker, dated from Reading, 6th of 5th mo. 1655, he speaks of Captain Curtis, of that place, and says, "he and his wife are very dear and precious: they have formerly lived very high, and very rich in apparel, but are stripped of all: he hath ripped off his gold buttons, and his wife hath stripped off all her jewels and rich attire. She was very dear to us, and oftentimes said, all they had was ours. Thus is the Lord our God exalting himself, and bringing down the loftiness of men, and laying his honour in the dust."]

THOMAS CURTIS TO GEORGE FOX.

Reading, 15th of 11th mo. 1664, [1st mo. 1665.]

DEAR GEORGE,

WITH true and unfeigned love do I heartily salute thee;—dear and precious is the remembrance of thee even to us all; and in our sufferings, a few lines from thee hath made our hearts right glad. Truly the rage of the wicked is not little in this place; yet hath the Lord so led us by his arm, that over it all we trample; and Truth is over the heads of this ungodly generation.

We were in prison about fifty odd prisoners, and now [are] brought this Sessions to our trial; about fifty upon the oath of allegiance; and yet the jury cleared us. But they had about fourteen of us again, and tendered the oath anew to us, and sent us to prison: we had four more, that (as they said) were in upon their third offence, and *they* were likewise cleared: so that though the justices (so called) were (some of them) wicked, yet the country set them [Friends] free; and those bad men have sent them to prison [again.] We are twenty-five in all, yet left. This day our meeting was quiet, contrary to all our expectations. *Our little children kept the meetings up, when we were all in prison*, notwithstanding that wicked justice [Armorer,] when he came and found them there, with a staff that he had with a spear in it, would pull them out of the meeting, and punch them in the back, till some of them have been black in the face: his fellow I believe is not to be found in England [as] a justice of the peace. And now we are so close kept, that

no man must speak with me, but in the hearing of the gaoler :—yet the Lord supports us, and we are over all in true peace and unity. The bearer, my man, can give thee a large account of things.* George Lamboll and his wife, and my Ann, [his wife,] and Joseph and Benjamin, are all prisoners with me :—their dear love is to thee, in the fellowship that is everlasting, and to Margaret Fell, and the rest of the prisoners ;† and so is mine, who am, &c.

Thomas Curtis.

[From the original.]

No. XCV.

GEORGE FOX TO THOMAS CURTIS AND FRIENDS
IN READING GAOL.‡

*To all the prisoners of the Lord, for the Truth
and Christ's sake.*

OH ! be valiant for the Truth upon the earth, that you may triumph in glory over the spirits of the world in the everlasting seed, that reigns and will reign, when that which makes to suffer is gone,

* See *Besse's Sufferings*, vol. i. p. 19—24, for an account of the sufferings and persecutions of Friends at Reading.

† In Lancaster Castle.

‡ The above letter bears no date, but it was most probably written about this period of the very severe suffering of Friends at Reading. The whole letter (which is in the possession of the editor,) is written throughout in G. F.'s handwriting : two other original letters of G. F. to the said Friends during their imprisonment, have also been seen by the Editor.

before which it was. Therefore trust in the name of the Lord, which hath held and kept up your heads over all the storms and proud waves and floods, and who hath been your rock of life. Therefore sit under the shadow of the Almighty, that doth shade you from all heats and storms; rejoicing in all your sufferings, that you may come forth as gold seven times in the fire: and do not look at time, nor think your sufferings long; but look at Him that hath all time in his hand. All to be heirs of Him, and possess Him; and then have life eternal, and so to be God's lot. He to possess you and you Him, who is from everlasting to everlasting, blessed for ever! His presence be with you all. Amen.

So no more, but my love to you all in the life that changeth not.

*Remember my love to all as
He named them of*

Read this among the prisoners.

Addressed to Brother Thomas Curtis, prisoner in Reading.

No. XCVI.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

Apullby [Appleby] 5th day of this week, 1666.

M. F.

DEAR and well-beloved, whom I love in the Truth, and have ever so done since I knew it; being

very glad to hear of thee, and from thee, and of thy well-being.

I received thy last, since the Assizes at Lancaster, which was acceptable unto me;—not forgetting the days of old, when we were comforted, refreshed and rejoiced together in the Lord, when we were present personally together: and being now absent outwardly, we know wherein our union with God stands, and with all the saints in light. I do indeed often rejoice in my heart, that God hath prolonged my days so long, to see so much of God's power and glory brought forth in our age.—I am freely given up; and I bless the Lord I am very well content, I am in perfect joy and peace: I bless the Lord, who hath been our refuge and preservation until now.

Dear heart, I thought to have written unto thee, when the Assize was done here; but so many Friends were here, and I was, as it were, encumbered with multitudes of people, and little room; and then, that news of the desolation of London coming in the neck of it, hindered me: and indeed people have been and are so mad and rude hereabouts, I can hardly either receive a letter or write one. I have so bad a jailer, who is very often the cause of detaining any stranger, and getting them into bonds for his gain, insomuch that I am sometimes more troubled for them than for myself. Of late he will let none speak with me, though [they come] but out of Cumberland; but I must bear all this, and much more, till God order it otherwise.

I am hearty glad of G. F.'s liberty, though these two years I have not written a line to him, for fear of troubling him in his strait bonds.

I am satisfied of the righteous judgment of the Lord upon that great rebellious city ; and indeed I looked for great judgment to come some years since, and one woe came, that great pestilence ; but I feared they had forgotten it, as though it had not been ; hardness of heart and wickedness abounded, and behold, God had determined utter desolation. Oh ! that all who yet remain, might go and inquire the cause, and consider and repent ; and cease striving against the Lord, lest his hand be more and more stretched forth in judgment ! Yet I cannot but rejoice, that many people were not destroyed in so sad a calamity. As for poor Friends, they have suffered many great evils and trials in it, and were imprisoned and shamefully ill-treated by most, and by them in power ; and therefore, after many warnings, signs, and prophecies, God avenged himself of it ; that all flesh might bow before Him, and dread his powerful name. And God that hath preserved the lives of them that believe, will, I believe, sustain them, and preserve them to his glory !——

I am no more weary of bonds than the first day I came in ; yet if it be the will of God I desire liberty, that I might behold the faces of dear Friends again, and be comforted in them, that we might rejoice together in the Lord. I had but one companion, and he hath laid down the body this last week,—a good man ; he hath suffered much, he was in for tithes, and made a sweet end. My wife and children are well I hear, blessed be God.

Remember me dearly to all thy children and fellow-prisoners and friends thereabouts ; and signify if thou know where G. F. is now. Not

more, but that I am thy truly loving friend and brother, in the fellowship of the Gospel of Christ,

Francis Howgill

[*From the original.*]

[Francis Howgill died about two years after the date of this letter in Appleby jail, after near five years' imprisonment; he is recorded in the Westmorland Register of Friends, as of Todthorne (Grayrigg meeting;) and that he was buried the 20th of 11th mo, 1668]

No. XCVII.

THOMAS SALTHOUSE TO MARGARET FELL.

Somersetshire, 21st of 1st month, [3rd mo.] 1668.

— THE proclamation was read last Seventh day at the High Cross, against Papists and Nonconformists; and we are preparing our minds for prisons in these parts: for the justices are in consultation about it: and though the Papists are named, yet we are like to bear the greatest part of the suffering, if it do any execution. We are resolved to meet, preach and pray, in public and private, in season and out of season, in city, town,

or country, as if it had never been ; well knowing that the same power by which we have been preserved and delivered out of the den, is with us, and will be with us to the end, if we abide faithful.

T. S.

No. XCVIII.

GEORGE FOX TO FRIENDS.

Swarthmore, 2nd of 8th month, [10th mo.] 1676.

DEAR FRIENDS, to whom is my love, and to all the faithful who inquire after me.—The Lord God Almighty give you, in his power, dominion ; that in it you may all strive to be of one mind, heart, and soul ; keeping the unity in the one Spirit, which is the bond of peace ; and drinking all into the one Spirit, by which you are circumcised and baptised into one body, to one heavenly and spiritual Head.

And now Friends, several ships are going out to Jamaica and New York ; it would be well to send, or to see that books be sent there, or epistles. And it would [be] well, if some Friends did offer up themselves to the bishops and priests or magistrates, for their brethren that be in prison, to lie in prison a quarter of a year or a month or more or less, that they might that time have their liberty ; so that our brethren may not perish in prison, and so that the blood of the innocent may not come upon them, and their souls cry for vengeance against them, and so bring destruction upon them and others. So I

shall leave it to the Spirit of God in all Friends in every country; and you may, as you pass up and down, inform Friends.

It would be well to prepare something of the sufferings of Friends, against the sitting of the next Parliament, and concerning oaths, and of Friends' yea and nay being taken; but to gather a fuller account than they had the last Parliament, for it was very short. And so dear William, [*perhaps Penn.*] thou may read this in the Second day's morning meeting; and with my love to all Friends that inquire after me.—

Keep your habitations in the seed of life and salvation; *that* will outlast all that is out of it. So with love,



[*From the Original.*]

No. XCIX.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 27th of 9th mo. [11th mo.] 1676.

DEAR G. F.

MY dear and tender love is to thee, even that love which the God of my life shed abroad in my heart in the dawning of the gospel day, which is living

and fresh in me at this time; in which I very dearly salute thee, with dear M. F. and her daughters, and all the rest of thy family who love and live in the Truth. My love in Christ reaches to every particular [individual] and to all the Friends of Truth there and thereaway.

Dear George, having been long out of this city, it is in my heart to give thee a particular account of our labours and travels, from our going out to our return to this city. The 30th day of the 6th month 1676, I with my companion G. W. [George Whitehead, *doubtless*,] left this city and came to Hammersmith, where we had a very precious meeting: several Friends from London did accompany us thither. After the meeting we passed to Kingston, calling at Robert Dring's by the way, who took our visit very kindly. I inquired for Friends' letters and papers, which were written in the beginning of the spreading of Truth, but could find none; they being burnt in the firing of London, as Dorothy did say. They inquired of thee in much love. On the 31st we had a large and open meeting at Kingston; and God's presence did appear with us. On the 1st day of the 7th month, being the Sixth day of the week, accompanied by Gerard Roberts we rode to Guildford, where was a monthly meeting for men and women; and having notice of our coming, it was the more large; and we had a good opportunity and service for God amongst them. After the meeting we came to Steph. Smyth's, and stayed there on Seventh day, and visited some Friends. On First day; we rode about 10 miles, and came to a monthly meeting at Froile in Hampshire, which was large; the meeting room would not contain the people, so we

met in an orchard : and God's holy and blessed presence did accompany us. On Second day, we had a good meeting in Friends' new meeting-house at Alton. On Third day, we rode about 15 miles, and came to Swanmore, where was a quarterly meeting : Friends were in good order, and carried on their business in love and unity : we had a good opportunity amongst them to our satisfaction, Friends being there from most meetings in the county ; and from them we had opportunity to send to Ringwood and Poole. That night we lodged at George Ernbrie's in Southton [Southampton ;] and on Fourth day, we had a solid weighty meeting : Ambrose Rigge was with us there. On Fifth day morning early, we left Southton, and travelled 16 miles, and came to Ringwood, where we had a good meeting : several Baptists and others came in, and Truth did reach them : we had a meeting in the evening also.

On the Sixth day we came to Poole, and had a very open, fresh meeting. On Seventh day, we travelled about 22 miles and came to Weymouth, where on the First day we had a large meeting ; Friends having notice came from several parts, and God's power and presence was with us. On Second day also, we had a meeting there. On Third day, we rode about 14 miles, and came to Bridport, where we had a meeting in Friends' hired place, where never any meeting had been ; and many people came, both professors and prophane, and filled the room. And after one of us began to declare, they were all very still, and gave attention ; and God's power bound and chained down the loose wild spirits, and we parted in peace ; we heard since that many did give a very good report of the meeting : Friends

were glad of the opportunity. After the meeting we rode 16 miles; we were two hours within night, and came to Membry [Membury,] where we found old Jean Pollexfen, who had lain there 10 weeks by a fall from her horse:—poor woman, she was in some distress of mind, being a prisoner, and not knowing how to get to Exeter; but since, she is gotten to her prison chamber, which is great satisfaction to her mind, though she continues lame.

On the Fourth day, we had a good meeting at Friends' meeting-house near Membry. On the Fifth day, we came to Topsham about 22 miles, and were at Friends' weekly meeting there, and had a fresh, awakening time; but the meeting being small, we appointed another meeting there on the Sixth day, where were Friends from Exeter and out of the country; and the Lord's presence was with us.

On the Seventh day, we rode through Totness, and came to Kingsbridge, and lodged at honest William Hingston's. On First day, we had a good meeting at their meeting-house near Kingsbridge; several strangers were there, and we had a blessed meeting. On Third day, we came to Plymouth, and on the Fourth day we had a large and blessed meeting in the Friends new meeting place, which is large and very convenient; and the people of that town have an ear open to Truth: we stayed on Fifth day, and on Sixth day, we had another heavenly and blessed meeting. And seeing such an openness, Friends were very urgent for a First day meeting; so G. W. finding a freedom from the Lord stayed on Firstday, and we had a very large and precious meeting, and in the evening also a meeting of some Friends.

I passed over into Cornwall, and had a very full meeting at Thos. Deeble's house; and the Lord did

open my heart in much love and tenderness amongst them. On the Second day, I visited some Friends in Liscard, and so came to Thos. Mounce's; where on the Third day we had a very great meeting, and God's blessed power was with us: old Thomas is very hearty, and was glad of our visit. On the Fourth day we came through Bodenham [Bodmin(?)] and visited the prisoners there, being five on Truth's account, most for non-payment of Tithes. Afterwards we came to Austle, where we were kindly entertained at Thos. Salthouse's. On Fifth day, we came to Loveday Hambly's, where we had a good meeting. We rested on Sixth day and on Seventh day, G. W. and Thos. Salthouse rode to Truro, and had a very good and serviceable meeting in their new meeting-house, and parted in peace. I stayed at L. H.'s, and had a large meeting; many strangers came in and were tender, and God's heavenly presence did accompany us. Poor old Loveday was even overcome, and gladdened in her heart to see her house (which she had lately enlarged,) so filled: she hath a zeal for God, and loves the prosperity of Truth.

On Second day early, I called on G. W. at Truro, and that evening we came to Market Jew, [Marazion,] where on the Third day we had a very sweet and heavenly meeting, though not very large: after the meeting we rode to Jo. Ellis's house, where on the Fourth day we had a powerful meeting, — many of the eminent [*or different*] professors were there, and confessed to Truth; and Friends were refreshed and comforted in our visit. After the meeting, we came to Captain Whiddon's, near Pensance, who very lovingly received us. On the Fifth day, we travelled to Fallmouth, where that evening we had a meeting at Jo. Scantlebury's house. On Sixth day, we had

meeting at the meeting-house in the country near Perin; and the Lord's presence did crown our assembly. After the meeting, we came to Truro, and lodged at Edward Hinks's [?] an old disciple and faithful servant of God. On Seventh day, we called at Pennance, Thomas Lower's house; his servants have looked long for him there: afterwards we came to Loveday Hambly's, where on the First day we had a very large, blessed, and heavenly meeting; the house would not contain the people, but several were without: and the Lord's power was manifest, and virtue went out; in due time we hope the effect will show itself: the priests' congregations were thin, and some said if we stayed awhile, they thought we should have most of the people of two parishes. We rested on the Second day, G. W. having sprained his foot; and on the Third day, we crossed the country to the north sea to Penvos, a farm belonging to Laurence Growdon, where we lodged, L. G. being with us. On the Fourth day, we passed through Padstow, and crossed the river, and came to a meeting at Minver, where we had good service for the Lord. After the meeting, I came to Humphrey Lower's, where I was very kindly and lovingly entertained; but none of the family came to the meeting but poor honest Jo. Bray. On Fifth day morning, I called at Jo. Billings' and spoke to him and his wife, who both confessed to Truth, but the way is too strait for them to walk in. I met G. W. at Camelford, who came from Abram Rowe's, and so we came to Lancelston [Launceston]; we had a very wet day, and got some cold. Arthur Cotton travelled with us through Cornwall: that evening we had a fresh but little meeting at Jo. Kerton's [?] house: there are a few in that town that hold the testimony of Truth.

On the Sixth day early, we left Lancelton, and came to Ockington [Oakhampton] and so to North Tawton, where we had a very fresh and open meeting; many of the townspeople came in, and were very tender, and confessed to the Truth. On the Sixth day, we came to Exeter, and visited Joan Poulton, and the rest of the prisoners; and after [-wards] we came to Cullhampton [Collumpton,] where on the First day we had a large and precious meeting. On the Second day, we came to ——— ton,* and on the Third day, we had a large meeting at Jo. Allawaye's. On the Fourth day, we crossed the country, and came to Chard, where we had some service in the evening. On Fifth day, we had a meeting at Illminster; and on Sixth day at Crookhorn, [Crewkerne]; and God's blessed power and presence was with us. After the meeting we came to Illchester; and on Seventh day, we had good opportunities with the prisoners in the forenoon in the ward, where four or five are upon execution; and in the afternoon in the Friars [?] where John Anderton† is prisoner, with divers other honest

* Perhaps Taunton. John Alloway was of Wivelscomb.—*Whiting's Memoirs*.

† John Anderdon, (as J. Whiting writes) "continued a prisoner here till death. He was a man of repute; a good scholar and Scribe, instructed unto the kingdom, bringing forth of the treasury, things new and old. He was well skilled in the languages, especially Greek and Latin; and understood the law, so that many came for advice, but freely.—He had good service for the Lord in meetings, not only in prison, but other places abroad. He resided at the Friary, where many Friends were prisoners.—He died the 20th of 1st mo. 1685, finishing his course about the 60th year of his age, laying down his head in peace, a little before the troubles broke out in the West.—*Whiting's Memoirs*, p. 278.

Friends. That evening we came to Puddimore, where on the First day we had a large, blessed, and heavenly meeting; there were Friends from above twenty meetings, as some did reckon. On the Second day, we came to Shapton Mallett; and on Third day, we had a fresh and good meeting at Abram Clothier's. On Fourth day, we came to Hollowtrow, and had a meeting at their meeting-place: we lodged at Jo. Dando's. On Fifth day, we came to Cainsham, and had a heavenly meeting there, where we met several Bristol Friends: that evening we came to Bristol, and lodged at Thomas Jordan's, who lives in old Den's house.

On Sixth day, we had a meeting at the Fryars, and the Lord was with us: also on the First day in the morning at Temple Street, and in the afternoon in the new meeting in the Fryars. There is a great body of people in that city, and it is great pity that any hurt should come upon them. We laboured in all faithfulness amongst them, and the Lord was with us; and where we met with any opposition, we repelled it in the name of the Lord: we had a good meeting in the evening at our lodging. On the Second day, we visited several Friends, and in the afternoon we were at the women's meeting, which was somewhat larger than usual, because of our being there. On Third day, we had a good meeting amongst Friends, in the great meeting-house; on Fourth day at Frenchay; and on Fifth day at Ouston, [Olveston] to the great refreshment and satisfaction of Friends and others. We lodged at Wm. Rogers',* though

The opponent and separatist, who wrote against Barclay's Anarchy, &c. John Story was another separatist:—See *Sewell's History*, under 1683.

in much straitness, but in Truth's dominion we stood. Jo. Story came out of Wiltshire, and G. W. had much discourse with him and Wm. Rogers, about many things too tedious to mention in this short relation: in the evening W. Rogers was moderate, and J. S. high and rough; but in the morning J. S. was very calm, and W. R. in a storm, not to me, but to G. W.: we cleared our consciences to both of them, and left them. That day being Sixth day, we came again to Bristol, and had a good meeting in the Friars. On Seventh day we visited several, who have let in a sour leaven to their hurt; we cleared our consciences and left them. On First day, we were at both meetings; and God's blessed power and heavenly dominion was with us: [*part torn off.*]—— We came to Alesbury, but finding few Friends in the town, we came on to Isaac Pennington's, —— at a meeting at Thomas Law's, where was a marriage, —— the meeting was —— [*the Lord's presence (?)*] was in the midst of us: I may truly say, I have seldom been at such a marriage, and —— more of God's presence to my remembrance; to God alone be glory, &c. —— [*parts lost.*]

On the Sixth day, being the 14th of the 9th mo. we came to London, where we found our wives and families well; for which our souls do magnify and bless the name of God.

Thus, dear George, I have given thee a brief account of our travails in this our journey.

In this City things are well, and our meetings full and quiet. Glad would many be to hear of thy motion this way, which would dash and give the lie to many bad spirits, who have prophesied of thy downfall; and be a great comfort to the upright in

heart. G. W. with several of the brethren dearly and tenderly salute thee: so with my, and my wife's dear love to thee, and to all in thy family, I rest thine in the unchangeable love of Truth.

Alexander Parker.

P. S. I desire thee to mention my dear love to Thomas Lower, &c.

Addressed to Sarah Fell, at Swarthmore, this with care deliver for G. F., &c.

[*From the original.*]

No. C.

ROBERT BARCLAY TO SARAH FELL,
AFTERWARDS MEADE.

Urie, 27th of 8th mo. [10th mo.] 1678.

DEAR S. F.

SOME days ago I received both thy letters, by Will. Taylor. I return thee this answer, chiefly to try an expedient, whether letters put in at the post-office at Edinburgh, will come safe to your hands; for which end I order this that way; and if it hit, let me have by the first post an answer, directing it for me to be left with David Falconer, merchant, in Edinbro'. I will not enlarge by this, because uncertain of its safe conveyance.

I have been a prisoner since I left thy sister, but was kept only two nights. P. L. [Patrick Livingstone,] has been out and in again. G. K. [Geo. Keith] and Thos. Mercer were taken this day week.

From Holland I had last night a letter that gave me much satisfaction, in which was one enclosed from Herwarden from Anna Van Horne to Lil. Skeine, very loving; and a short postscript from Elizabeth [the Princess (?)] in these words:—"Dear friend, I love your upright intention to travail in spirit for your friends, though unknown to you; and doubt not but it will prove efficacious to them, in the Lord's due time; which is the wish of your loving friend, Elizabeth."—I refer other matters to a further occasion.

My entire love to thy father and mother, to Isabel my dear fellow-traveller, to Su. [Susan Fell,] and Rachael, as also thy brother and sister Lower, with Leo. [Leonard Fell] and others my acquaintance. Thou wilt excuse this briefness at this time to thy very affectionate friend

Barclay

No. CI.

ROBERT BARCLAY TO GEORGE FOX.

Edr. [Edinburgh] the last of the 10th mo.
[12th mo.] 1679.

DEAR G. F.

To whom is my dear and unfeigned love in the unchangeable Truth, of whom to hear is always refreshful unto me. I know it will be acceptable to

thee to understand, that at last the tedious persecution at Aberdeen seems to have come to an end; for Friends have had their meetings peaceable near these two months, and dear P. L. [Patrick Livingstone(?)] after having had several peaceable meetings, is now come away a noble conqueror from that place, and is gone to visit Friends in the west country, and then intends homeward by way of Newcastle. I doubt not, but that God will abundantly reward his courage and patience; for his stay has been of great service to Truth and Friends in these parts. I came here at the earnest desire of W. P. [Wm. Penn(?)] and other Friends, to speak to the D. of York concerning the New Jersey business; but fear there will be little effectual got done in it. I doubt it has been spoiled in the managing at first.

Friends here are generally well, as G. K. [George Keith] and his wife, H. P., R. R. and others; and their love I know is to thee. I should be very glad, if thy freedom could allow of it, to see thee in this country in the spring: I know it would be of great service, for there are several things that would need it: several things go cross, and are so now in divers places; and I know no man's presence could so easily remedy it as thine. I heard from Holland lately, where Friends are well; but the brothers of the deceased Simon Tonson of Rotterdam, are about to pursue his widow for his estate, as not being legally married to her; but it is hoped they will not carry it, and their judgment is, that it will be of great consequence to Friends hereafter, as to their marriages.* My dear and entire love to

* From some correspondence which took place in 1683, between Friends in Holland and Stephen Crisp,

Margaret and all the family; and in the love of the unchangeable Truth, I continue

Thy resolute Barley

also with the Morning Meeting in London, it appears that the widow's case was then undecided; and that some proceedings were on foot with the government of Holland, for legalizing the marriages of Friends, on their agreeing to give notice to the civil magistrate before the marriage, as well as afterwards of its solemnization. Some of the Friends in Holland scrupled as to the previous notice; and the advice of the Morning Meeting was requested. The answer was to this effect;—that “it was not inconsistent with Truth's testimony,” to certify the magistrate both before and after the marriage, “all things having first passed with clearness through the meetings of Friends;” that “if the like were proffered here, and to exempt and clear Friends' marriages from the penal laws, Friends believe it would be accepted by Friends generally.” “We have been willing from the beginning, (writes G. Whitehead on this occasion,) that our marriages should be made known to the magistrates, and published at market crosses, &c., as G. F. says.”—The Morning Meeting further remarks,—For though we cannot allow the right of marrying to the civil magistrate, “yet his right to take cognizance of offenders, covenant breakers, &c. (which are but a scandal to Truth and us,) as well as to punish adulterers, &c.,—magistrates being set to be a terror to evil workers, and for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well, and to defend them in their rights and properties,—has always been our testimony. Therefore, Friends being free to impart the simple knowledge of their intentions, will rather bespeak their innocence and clearness from all violations of contracts, clandestine proceedings, &c., than the refusal of such notice; and surely we would have our innocence appear both before marriage and after.” These remarks are interesting, as being applicable to the course adopted by Friends in this country, on the late change in our marriage laws, before this correspondence turned up.

LETTERS, &c.

HISTORICAL;

CONCERNING EVENTS, SERVICES, &c.;

IN IRELAND.

[THE following Letters of very early dates relate to the first progress of Truth in Ireland.]

No. CII.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

Dublin, 30th of 7th mo. [9th mo.] 1655.

DEAR M. F.

AFTER we parted from thee at Swarthmore, we passed down to Warrington that First day; and there was an exceeding great meeting. From Olmeschurch [Ormskirk] and near Leaverpole, [Liverpool,] divers [came:] but we were pressed to go on and make no stay; and so came to Chester, and visited the prisoners, and stayed in town all night. On the next day we came to the sea, but the wind was contrary.—[When they sailed] the wind blew

softly, and so we were two days and two nights on the sea. On the Fourth day of the week, we came to Dublin; and on the Fifth, we had a meeting at one Capt. Rich's; and on the First day, at one Captain Alan's house; many people came, and all calm. They (the Captains) are loving, but there is not much in them.

E. B. [Edw. Burrough] went up to the *deputive house*, where was a meeting of Baptists; he hath been there three times, and spoke with Fleetwood himself, who was moderate, much like O. C. [Cromwell]: but the officers have bowed down to the idol baptism, for promotion; for it grew in great fashion a while here, but now it withers.—We have been here about three weeks, and we have *pretty* meetings on the First days: but they are a careless, dissolute, proud people.—

E. B. went up to the Phoenix, and I stayed at the meeting; it was pretty large and calm, and there are [good] desires in many. But now, my beloved yoke fellow and I must part, who have borne the yoke so long together:—the cross is great, in so strange and barbarous a nation; yet it is not so great, as if any other had parted us:—in the will of God we are. I am moved to go a hundred miles west in the nation towards Cork; there is a service, and a people to be gathered, that way; and at Kingsale, and Bandon bridge, at the end of the land. E. B. must stay here: for this city we cannot leave yet; but I am given up to lay down all for Him, who hath made me a conqueror; glory unto Him for evermore!

— Salute me in the Lord to all thy children, and all the church there-aways; and as thou art free, write a word to my wife. So the everlasting

arm of God preserve us in his power : and that, if it be his will, we may see one another's faces ; that we may praise the Lord together.

Thy dear brother in the unchangeable life of God,
Francis Howgill.

[*From the original, which is endorsed by G. F. 1655 : it is addressed to Swarthmore*].

No. CIII.

EDWARD BURROUGH TO MARGARET FELL.

[*Dublin (?)*] 1655.

MY dearly beloved Sister, in whom my soul is refreshed by the remembrance of thee.—I dearly salute thee in the fountain of life, at which I do drink with thee, and am daily nourished and refreshed. But with heaviness of spirit I write unto thee, yea, and with my eyes full of tears ; for I am separated outwardly from my dear beloved brother F. H., who was my right-hand man in the war, before whom many Philistines have fallen. And truly when I consider what the Lord hath done by us, my heart is rent and broken : many glorious days we enjoyed, and many pleasant hours we had together, in dividing the spoil of our enemy ; for our hand was always strong in battle, and our ensign was lifted up above our enemies, and even thousands have fallen on our right hand and on our left. But according to the will of God we are now separated,

he into the west of this nation, 100 or six score miles from Dublin; where I must stay a season, for ought I do see,—and truly under great suffering, for few here are that hunger after God, and blindness and deafness hath possessed all. Little Eliz: Fle: [Fletcher] is at present here, but I know not how long she stays; her dear love is to thee and to all the flock of God. Truly I suffer for her, she being as it were alone, having no other woman with her in this [ruinous or ravenous (?)] nation, where it is very bad travelling,—every way a foot, and also dangerous; but we are much above all that. If it were the will of the Lord that any women were moved to come over to her, it might be serviceable.

I was glad that F. H. had so good an opportunity of passing on his journey; he went with a cornet and some others, who were very loving to us, and came to meetings while they stayed in the city.

To all the family, and to the dear flock of God thereaway, salute us. We have not had any letter from you in the north, nor from London, since we came; we have written to London, but have had no return; here is a post weekly, if the wind lie not wholly contrary.

Let thy prayers be to the everlasting Father for us, that his dread may go along with us, over all. Our parting was a heavy burden upon us both, especially in this strange nation; but we saw it to be of God, and we bore the cross of it. As thou canst at opportunity, write to us, it will make me glad: one face of a Friend would rejoice my soul. Gladly would I hear of G. F. and J. N., and of the rest in the south, where I know the work of the Lord is glorious; and though some do re-

joice, yet truly at present we are men of sorrows,
but resting in the will of our heavenly Father.

I am thy dear bro :

E. B.

Here is a Friend come from England, since I wrote this, from Oxford, [Thomas Loe (?)] who saith he was moved to come, and I believe it; I am refreshed by him.

[*From the Original: the letter is without a date; but the year 1655 is endorsed upon it by G. Fox.*]

No. CIV.

EDWARD BURROUGH TO MARGARET FELL.

[*Waterford,*] 5th of 11th month, 1655,
[1st mo. 1656.]

SISTER beloved, whom I forget not, but do remember with kindness, and of whom I am not forgotten;—with my heart and soul, I do salute thee, being bound up with thee in the covenant of life everlasting.—We are joint heirs of the incorruptible inheritance in the Son, who in us liveth and worketh of his own will; in whom we are what we are, and by whom we do what is done; to Him we give his own, glorifying him with his own, world without end. Though far distant from one another, yet my love is hereby increased unto all the children of light; with tears rejoicing in the unity of the Spirit with you all,—who am to you a brother and companion in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ,

and in labours and travels and sufferings more abundant: but as in suffering with Christ I do abound, so my joy by him and consolation in him are increased also.—

Only two letters have I received from thee since I came out of England: I am now at Waterford city, where is a *pretty* people, gathering into the fold. Two weeks was I in Dublin city, in the ministry of Christ, labouring in season and out of season; and my suffering was not little in that place, and I had none to bear the yoke with me in my travails; and yet I was not alone, but the Father was with me in power and wisdom and boldness. It is a bad place, [Dublin,] a very refuge for the wicked: being moved I passed through it to this place, for our service lies only in great towns and cities; for generally the country is without inhabitant, except bands of murderers and thieves and robbers, which wait for their prey, and devour many; from which yet we are preserved.

I had great opposition in this city; five times opposed by the rulers, who are Baptists, and once was I tried for a vagabond, and once examined by them for a Jesuit: but to this day, out of snares and plots am I preserved, and walk as a bird among fowler's snares, and as an innocent dove which hath no mate, nay,—none unto whom I can open my cause, but the Lord my God only.—

About sixteen days was I at Kilkenny city, twenty miles from this; where I gave a warning to the inhabitants, and was twice among the Baptists; and one time by command from the governor of the city, was I haled out of their assembly rudely, in the manner of their generation; but a few in that city received our report.

I have not long heard from my chiefest companion F. H. [Francis Howgill,] whose love in the same measure salutes thee with mine. It is now four months since we parted at Dublin, and what I have said in respect of suffering and trials, he can seal the same with me; who have been companions in tribulation and in patience, and are now in joy and rejoicing; hoping to receive the end of our labour, and to see the travail of our souls, that we may bring in the [sheep(?)] with us into the fold, and may return to our camp with victory from our Lord. And we have not spared to wound on the right hand and on the left; and victory, victory, hath been our word of watch. And though this nation be as the heath in the desert, yet there is a seed and a remnant, for whose sake we are sent. Seldom have I heard from him [F. H.] since; but he is about Cork and Kinsale and Bandon, sixty or eighty miles from this place; and he hath written for me to come that way, if I had freedom, for there was service. But yet I have not had freedom to leave these parts, for here is a harvest and but few labourers; and a war is begun in this nation, and but very few on our part to manage it.

Our dear sisters E. F. [Elizabeth Fletcher,] and E. Smith are also in the west, valiant for the Truth; and some from London arrived at Dublin, who are gone into the north of this nation.—Of all our work and labour, which is doubled upon us since we parted, have we a reward into our bosoms; and herein will our joy be more enlarged, to hear how the war prospers in that nation [England]: write and let us know, that we may partake with you in your rejoicing; and assuredly you may praise

the living God on our behalf. Here is great want of books in this nation, which might be very serviceable in spreading forth the Truth. Now I leave it to thee, my dear sister, what way thou sees [best,] that some books might be sent to this land: thus much was upon me to mind thee in general, with my dear love. I desire to be saluted to all the children of light, &c.

Edw: Burrough

No. CV.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

[*Cork,*] endorsed 1655.

—At Kingsale, a great port town, Major Stoding, the governor of the fort is loving; I have been much there, but he is full of corrupt knowledge; all his soldiers, and some of the town will hear: but we preach the cross, and them that cannot own us *there*, we lay no hand on. At Bandon, a great market town, there are not many, but they are precious: one Cornet Cook and his wife, the most eminent house in the town, they are of the true seed: she was a Baptist, and they cast

her out for heresy, as they say; a noble woman she is.*

There are arrived at Dublin, seven Friends out of England, two from London, gallant women, and some other I know not; four of them are gone towards the North.——

Francis Howgill.

Since I wrote, a company of priests have gone up and procured a warrant or an order from Dublin, and sent it to the governor of Kingsale, and another to Colonel Phayre, governor of Cork; and they sent down divers questions to ask me. The order was general, to take up all Quakers, and send them to Dublin, which is 120 miles off; I was at Kingsale, at one of the governor's houses, when it came: and the governor of Cork sent a letter privately [for me] to come thither.—I am at this city at present: but none I think will meddle, unto whom the commission was sent. Major Stoding is turned out of commission of the peace upon this account; and it is like they will do so with Colonel Phayre: but he is noble, and saith, more is done by the Quakers, than all the priests in the county have done a hundred years. And now

* Ruttly in his *History of Friends in Ireland* (p. 84-5.) informs us, that Edward Cook of this place was "a man of great parts, a cornet of horse in Oliver Cromwell's own troop,"—"he embraced the Truth with his whole heart; and retained it,—was given up to serve the Lord, and lived and walked under the cross of Christ Jesus, in great self-denial to the world, and the glory and greatness of it, to his dying day: he laid down his head in peace with God, and sweet unity with true-hearted Friends."

many are moved daily to bear witness against the priests: the work of the Lord is great,—glory to Him for ever!

E. Fletcher is here.—E. B. I have not heard of these six weeks. I hear they imprison all at Dublin.—James Lancaster, R. Hicoke, E. Morgan, R. Ward, and two of Dublin Friends are in prison at Dublin.*

[*From the Original.*]

* In *Thurlow's State Papers*, (vol. iv. p. 508,) is preserved a letter to Secretary Thurlow, from Henry Cromwell, the Governor of Ireland, dated about this period; from which the following extract is taken. Henry Cromwell was the second son of the Protector; and is reported to have "governed Ireland with such a mixture of firmness, discretion, and tolerant indulgence in religion, that the Irish people, if not contented, were at least quiet."*

In this Letter, he informs Secretary Thurlow, in London, that "the Quakers begin to grow in some reputation in the County of Cork; their meetings being frequently attended by Colonel Phaier, Major Wallis, and most of the chief officers thereabouts. Some of our soldiers have been perverted by them, and amongst the rest, his Highness's Cornet to his own troop is a professed Quaker†: Major Hodden, the Governor of Kinsale is I fear going that way."—*February 6th, 1655—1656.*

Secretary Thurlow writes in reply: "I thank your Lordship for your's of the 6th instant; that was the first that mentioned anything of the Quakers in Ireland. They are a people who are much grown here in numbers."—*February 12th, 1655—1656.*

* *Mackintosh's History of England*, 1657.

† Doubtless, Edward Cook, (before mentioned.)

CVI.

EDWARD BURROUGH AND FRANCIS HOWGILL TO
GEORGE FOX.

- *Lancaster, 1st month, [3rd mo.] [1656 (?)]*

DEARLY BELOVED,

— It is now three weeks and some days since we were taken prisoners in the city of Cork, by the High Sheriff of the county, by order of the Council and chief ruler in Ireland: it was dated at Dublin, expressly for us two to be brought by some guards and convoys before the Council at Dublin; which was done accordingly. Great service we had in our journey, about 130 miles. We came prisoners to Dublin, and were severally examined before Hen: Cro. [Henry Cromwell] and his Council, but nothing charged against [us,] and only vain questions propounded; and mighty was the power of the Lord with us to the confounding of our enemies. That night we were committed to prison at the Sergeant-at-Arms his house; where we had a large chamber, and none was hindered to come to us. We sent forth many papers, and gave a haling to all the priests in the city, to give us a public meeting, but they answered us not. Six days we were in prison there, till the Council made an order to the mayor of the city, that he should with speed send us for England; which was done accordingly, to the grief of our spirits; who [were to be] so far separated from the dear babes, which are begotten in that nation, unto whom our souls wish grace and love. The 2nd of this month we arrived at Chester, where we stayed one night, and heard of

a meeting at Preston, to which we made haste, much desiring to be there; which also was brought to pass by the hand of our God. [The meeting] was to the great advantage of Truth; and contrary to expectation or thought, J. Audland, Alex. [Parker(?)] and we, were brought together. We are now going into the north.

Truly great service for the Lord we had in Ireland for near seven months; the particulars would be very large; but in short, there is a precious work begun, and a seed sown, which shall never die. More largely at another time shall I write, but thus much in haste.—Truly shall we stand in the counsel of our God, to be [—*word not clear*] in his service, which we are wholly given up to do.—

Frs. H.'s dear wife, we hear, is departed this world, which will be a little hinderance to him at present, as to settle his children and the like; but truly he is wholly given up to do our Father's will, through great and many trials and dangers and sufferings.

I am thy dear,

E. B.

F. H.

[*From the original, in E. B.'s hand apparently.*]

No. CVII.

THOMAS LOE TO GEORGE FOX.

The North of Ireland, 17th of 6th mo. 1660.

DEAR AND MOST HONOURABLE,

THINE with much joy I received; and things here

are at present pretty cool. I am now in the north, where all is quiet and still, and meetings enlarge daily. I came lately out of the west, from Cork, Bandon, Limerick, and those parts, where persecution hath been greater since these changes [*political*(?)] ; prisons daily attending us, haling out of their towns, and breaking meetings, and blows and threats, and many other sufferings, Friends have sustained by them. Whole meetings have been carried to prison in several places ; at Limerick they have kept Friends near four weeks together, and at Dublin the greatest part of a quarter of a year, and at Cork they have several times done the same : I was there a little while since at a monthly meeting, and near the end of our meeting they came with a guard of soldiers, and carried away all the men Friends to prison. And so about Waterford they have done the same, and almost in all parts of the nation ; many sharp trials Friends have had by them. Things are generally well with Friends, and meetings fresh and living ; a blessed presence is among them, and they are well got over their sufferings, and in wisdom have been well preserved in their several meetings. I do believe many of them are freely given up to suffer all things for the Truth's sake. Here is some increase lately, several are convinced since these revolutions [in government(?)] : about the middle of the nation there is a meeting of near forty, and most convinced lately ; at this time things are a little quieter, I know of none in prison but what are in for tithes. As to my own particular, dear G. F., I am well ; and the Lord's blessings and pure presence are with me in my labours. It is yet on me to stay in this nation, and the thing hath oft run through me—thou must travel through this storm with Friends here. I am truly and wholly

given up into the will of God, and am content to suffer and endure all things for the Lord's sake. Abundance of threats in divers places are uttered against me, and they have had me in prison divers times ; but way hath been made for my release in some short time.

Thomas Loe.*

No. CVIII.

WILLIAM EDMONDSON TO MARGARET FELL.

Maryboro', 2nd of 6th mo. [8th mo.] 1661.

M. F.

— As concerning Friends here, I hear of many

* This Friend, who has been called "the apostle of Ireland," from his early and zealous labours in that land, "was a man of an excellent gift, sound, clear, and powerful in his ministry, elegant in speech, sharp and quick in his understanding ; and his testimony was very convincing. It was through his ministry that William Penn became convinced : W. P. having a considerable estate of his father's in Ireland committed to his care, which occasioned his coming to the country ; and being informed that Thomas Loe was to be at a meeting in Cork, he went to meet him. T. Loe began his declaration with these memorable words : 'There is a faith that overcomes the world, and there is a faith that is overcome by the world :' upon which subject he enlarged with great clearness and energy ; and by the living and powerful testimony of this man, (which had made some impression upon W. P.'s spirit ten years before,) he was now thoroughly convinced ; and afterwards constantly attended the meetings of the people called Quakers, even through the heat of persecution."—*Rutty's History of Friends in Ireland*, p. 112. T. Loe died in London, (as our Registers state,) "the 6th of 8th mo. 1668, at Edward Mann's, a hosier, within Bishopsgate : " he is described as of Oxford.

in prison at Waterford; at Cork and Limberick [Limerick] many Friends are fined in great sums of money, for meeting. I hear that Friends in the north have their liberty. We are six of our meeting prisoners, and fined for meeting: it is well with Friends here,—the Lord's presence is with us, and his power fresh amongst us, whereby we have strength to bear all. My dear love is to thy children and to Friends there.

Thy brother in my measure,

Will Edmondson

LETTERS, &c.
OF
EARLY FRIENDS.

PART II.
DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE EARLY DISCIPLINE AND
TESTIMONIES OF THE SOCIETY.

No. CIX.

[THE documents brought forward under this division of the work, are almost wholly of dates antecedent to the records of the established meetings of the Society at large, held in London: they will be found to possess much interest and value,—evincing the earnest concern and holy care of our Early Friends, in the first establishment of the Christian Discipline of the Society. It is remarkable how large a portion of the subjects of advice or of regulation, set forth in these early documents, have continued to this day to be acknowledged or maintained amongst us as a religious body:—the wisdom of Truth, it is believed, was at the outset closely sought after, in the building up of the edifice,—the only true foundation of which, was often testified, and reverently owned, to be Christ,—the head of the

church; and His Spirit the cementing bond of union, of edification, and the only right authority therein. In some matters of disciplinary regulation, variations or modifications are observable, (as would be expected,) when compared with the regulations of after times; but the directing principle of Truth, it is believed, was *the warrant* with our Early Friends for those subsequent modifications: the changes, however, were but few and comparatively slight, after the more general settlement of the several meetings for discipline, including those of Women Friends and of Ministers and Elders, throughout the Society, towards the close of the seventeenth century, or between the years 1670 and 1690.

THE following interesting document on the subject of our early discipline, is copied from an ancient manuscript in Thomas Aldam's handwriting (apparently,) found in the Warmsworth Collection. As it bears no date, neither signature, it is difficult to speak with confidence, as to the period in which it was issued, or by what body or meeting of Friends; but from the expression—"serving the Commonwealth" being used, (a state term doubtless generally avoided after the restoration of the Stuarts,) it is probable that the document was drawn up in the time of one of the Cromwells,—a period very ancient as respects disciplinary records in the Society: on that account, the Editor places it the first in this part of the volume. It is within the verge of probability, that it was a paper issued by the General or Yearly Meeting, held at John Crook's house in Bedfordshire in the year 1657, to Friends in the North.]

THE ELDERS AND BRETHREN SEND UNTO THE BRETHREN IN THE NORTH THESE NECESSARY THINGS FOLLOWING ; TO WHICH, IF YOU, IN THE LIGHT WAIT, TO BE KEPT IN OBEDIENCE, YOU WILL DO WELL. FARE YOU WELL.

1.—That the particular meetings, by all the children of the light, be duly kept and observed, where they be already settled, every First-day of the week ; except they be moved to other places. And that general meetings be kept in order and sweet in the life of God, on some other day of the week than on the First-day, unless there be a moving to the contrary : that so in the light and life, the meetings be kept, to the praise of God.

2.—That care be taken, that as any are brought into the Truth, meetings be in such places amongst them, as may be for the most convenience of all, without respect of persons : and that hands be laid on none suddenly, lest the Truth suffer.

3.—That if any person draw back from meetings, and walk disorderly, some go to speak to such as draw back ; to exhort and admonish such with a tender, meek spirit, whom they find negligent or disorderly. And if any, after admonition, do persist in the thing not good, let them again be admonished and reprov'd before two or three witnesses ; that by the mouth of two or three witnesses, every thing may be established. And if still they persevere in them, then let the thing be declared to the church : and when the church hath reprov'd them for their disorderly walking, and admonished them in the tender and meek spirit, and they do not reform, then let their names and the causes, and such as can justly testify the truth therein, and their

answers, be sent in writing to some whom the Lord hath raised up in the power of his Spirit to be fathers, His children to gather in the light,—that the thing may be known to the body ; and with the consent of the whole body, the thing may be determined in the light.

4.—That as any are moved of the Lord to speak the word of the Lord at such meetings, that it be done in faithfulness, without adding or diminishing. And if at such meetings, any thing at any time be otherwise spoken by any out of the light, whereby the seed of God cometh to be burthened ; let the person or persons in whom the seed of God is burthened, speak in the light (as of the Lord they are moved,) in meekness and godly fear, to him ; but let it be done in private, betwixt them two, or before two or three witnesses, and not in the public meetings, except there be a special moving so to do.*

5.—That collections be timely made for the poor, (that are so indeed,) as they are moved, according to order,—for relief of prisoners, and other necessary uses, as need shall require : and all moneys so collected, an account thereof to be taken ; from which every need may be supplied, as made known by the overseers in every meeting : that no private ends may be answered, but all brought to the light, that the gospel be not slandered.

6.—That care be taken for the families and goods of such as are called forth into the ministry, or [who] are imprisoned for the Truth's sake ; that no creatures be lost for want of the creatures.

7.—That as any are moved to take a brother or a

* It will be seen by a subsequent document, how earnest was the advice (afterwards) of the General Meeting in London, against judging or reflecting on the ministry publicly.

sister in marriage,—(marriage being honourable in all, and the bed undefiled,) let it be made known to the children of the light, especially to those of the meeting of which the parties are members ; that all in the light may witness it to be of God. And let them be joined together in the Lord and in His fear, in the presence of many witnesses ; according to the example of the holy men of God in the Scriptures of Truth recorded, (which were written for our example and learning;) that no scandal may rest upon the Truth, nor anything be done in secret ; but all things brought to the light, that Truth may triumph over all deceit ; and that they who are joined together in the Lord, may not by man be put asunder, whom God hath joined together. That there may be a record in writing, witnessing of the day, place, and year, of such things, kept within that meeting, of which the one or both of them are members ; under which writing the witnesses present may subscribe their names, or so many of them as be convenient ; for the stopping of the mouths of gainsayers, and for the manifesting the truth to all who are without.

8.—That a record be kept in every meeting of the births of the children of such who are members of that meeting, and of the burials of the dead (who die in the Lord,) as they depart out of the body ; which be done after the manner of the holy men of God, recorded in the Scriptures of Truth ; and not after the customs of the heathen, who know not God.

9.—That husbands and wives dwell together according to knowledge, as being heirs together of the grace of life. That children obey their parents in the Lord ; and that parents provoke not their

children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and fear of the Lord, walking before them as good examples, in gravity and godliness; providing things honest in the sight of God and man.

10.—That servants be obedient to them that are their masters in the flesh, in things that are good, in singleness of heart as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ; doing the will of God from the heart: with good-will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men; knowing whatsoever good thing any man doth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And that masters give to their servants that which is just and equal; forbearing threatening, knowing that their Master is also in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with Him.

11.—That care be taken that none who are servants depart from their masters, but as they both do see in the light: nor any master to put away his servant, but by the consent of the servant: and if any master or servant in their wills do otherwise, it is to be judged with Friends in the light.

12.—That the necessities of the poor, widows and fatherless, may be truly supplied, and that such as are able to work, and do not, may be admonished: and if, after admonition, they refuse to work, then let them not eat. And that the children of such as are in necessity, be put to honest employment; that none be idle in the Lord's vineyard.

13.—That care be taken, that as any are called before the outward powers of the nation, that in the light, obedience to the Lord be given.

14.—That if any be called to serve the commonwealth in any public service, which is for the public

wealth and good, that with cheerfulness it be undertaken, and in faithfulness discharged unto God : that therein patterns and examples in the thing that is righteous, they may be, to those that be without.

15.—That all Friends that have callings and trades, do labour in the thing that is good, in faithfulness and uprightness ; and keep to their yea and nay in all their communications : and that all who are indebted to the world, endeavour to discharge the same, that nothing they may owe to any man but [to] love one another.

16.—That no one speak evil of another, neither judge one against another ; but rather judge this, that none put a stumbling-block or occasion to fall in his brother's way.

17.—That none be busy bodies in other's matters, but each one to bear another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ ; that they be sincere and without offence, and that all things which are honest, be done without murmurings and disputings : that they may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, amongst whom they may shine as lights in the world.

18.—That Christian moderation be used towards all men ; that they who obey not the word, may be won [by] those that in the word dwell, to guide in an holy life and godly conversation.

19.—That the Elders made by the Holy Ghost, feed the flock of God, taking the oversight thereof willingly, not by constraint, but of a willing mind ; neither as lords over God's heritage, but as examples to the flock of Christ.

20.—That the younger submit themselves to the elder,—yea all be subject one to another, and be

clothed with humility; for God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.

From the Spirit of Truth to the children of light, to walk in the light; that all in the order be kept in obedience to God; that He may be glorified, who is worthy over all, blessed for ever—Amen!

Dearly beloved Friends, these things we do not lay upon you as a rule or form to walk by; but that all, with a measure of the light, which is pure and holy, may be guided: and so in the light walking and abiding, these things may be fulfilled in the Spirit, not in the letter; for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life.*

No. CX.

[THIS next early record was discovered in a register book of a monthly meeting in Hampshire, since the last document was prepared for the press. It is dated 1659, and contains portions of advice similar to those in the preceding article, and occasionally so in the same words: thus proving that some general advice of the kind, had been issued from some influential body or meeting of the Society, at or previous to that early period.]

* There is in this brief concluding paragraph, something remarkably instructive: the true spirit of our church discipline, not the letter of it, is upheld,—reference being made to the only right authority of it, instead of to any outward sanction or authority.

AT A MEETING OF FRIENDS OF FOUR COUNTIES, KENT, SUSSEX, SURREY AND HAMPSHIRE, AT THE LODGE NEAR HORSHAM, THESE AS FOLLOWETH WERE JUDGED NECESSARY BY FRIENDS THERE MET, AND BY THEM OWNED, AND TENDERED AS THEIR COUNSEL AND ADVICE UNTO ALL FRIENDS IN THOSE PLACES.

The Third Month, 1659.

1.—That all Friends at their several meetings in the aforesaid counties, do make their collections orderly and timely for the use of the poor, or such other necessary uses that shall be seen in the wisdom of God to be serviceable for the good of the body : and what is remaining over in the particular, to be brought into the general stock, at the general meeting in each county, to them entrusted for the whole.

2.—That all Friends intending marriage, or witnessing a motion of the Lord unto that thing, (before they go outwardly together,) bring it to the body or that church to which they are joined ; that all in the power of the Lord may feel, and in that particular nothing be done hastily or rashly, but in the fear of the Lord ; and in the presence of many witnesses they may be united, according to the example of the holy men of God in the Scriptures of truth recorded ; so that no scandal or blemish may be laid upon the Truth, but all to the light may be brought, which maketh manifest deceit ; and that a record in writing of the day, place, and year of such things, be kept within that meeting, whereof one or both are members ; under which the witnesses may set their names, or some of them.

3.—That a record be kept (as Friends are moved) of the births of children of such as are members or

Friends, and of the burial of the dead who die in the Lord, (as they departed out of the body;) which be done after the manner of the holy men of God recorded in the Scriptures, and not after the custom of the heathen that know not God.

4.—That burying places be provided as soon as conveniently may be, in convenient places distinct from the world, as Friends are moved in it.

5.—That if any person or persons draw back from the Truth and walk disorderly, some to speak to such as draw back, to exhort and admonish such with a tender and meek spirit, whom they find negligent and disorderly; and if any person or persons after admonition persist in the thing not good, let them be again (as moved) admonished, and before two or three witnesses reprov'd, that by the mouth of two or three witnesses every thing may be established; and if still they persist and come not to the Truth, then let the thing be delivered to others that be in the Truth, that it may be known to the body, and with the consent of the whole, in the light be determined; and that nothing be done in haste or rashly.

6.—That a tender care be taken of all such children, wives, servants, soldiers, or others, who are turned out of their places and families, for the Truth's sake. And that all single persons, men and women, (who are not called forth in the public or general service in the work of the Lord,) be ordered in the wisdom of God to several places, whereby they may glorify God in their conversations, and the Truth may be preserved by them without blemish, and them in it; that all Friends may be kept in duty.

7.—That all Friends in their several places (as

they are moved,) observe their general and particular meetings on the First days and others, (except any of them be moved forth by the Lord unto some other places for the furtherance of Truth, as in the wisdom of God shall be seen and judged serviceable, or just cause shewed, if desired, to the contrary;) for they who forsake the assembly of saints lose the unity.

8.—That if any be moved of the Lord to speak in the steeple houses, streets, markets, meetings, or beyond the seas, [they are] not to quench the Spirit of the Lord; and that no Friends judge one another in meetings; but if any be moved to speak [to such,] to do it after meeting in private. And all Friends take heed of slothfulness and sleeping in meetings; but live in the power of the Lord, that you may be kept in the unity: that all things that are done, may be, in the moving power of the Lord God, and nothing out of it.

An addition of Friends who met together from the counties aforesaid, since the said meeting in the third month, 1659.

[—That care be taken that all sufferings of Friends, who suffer for conscience and Truth's sake, of what nature or kind soever, be from time to time gathered up and recorded; and to that end some Friends of every meeting convenient, be desired to record the same; and that such Friends who suffer as aforesaid, do bring the whole matter, with all material circumstances, speedily to him who is to record the same: and that all such records of sufferings as aforesaid, be by him returned at the next general meeting of Friends for that county, there to be recorded in general for the whole county, by him who is desired to record the same.

—That if collections be made in the several counties as aforesaid, and [if] the money collected in every particular county is not sufficient to supply the necessity of Friends in the same county, that then the other of the said counties, who have any collections in the general stock, do contribute towards the necessity of that county or counties which is in want.

The names of Friends met together the 3rd month 1659, above-mentioned, viz.

*[Then follow the names of many Friends arranged under the four counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Hampshire.]**

* Whilst the above was in type, the following documents have been met with, among our ancient records in London, which, from their very early date and rarity, are curious, and their contents interesting.

At a meeting of Friends out of the Northern Counties of York, Lincoln, Lancaster, Chester, Nottingham, Derby, Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland, at Scalehouse, the 24th of the 4th Month, 1658.*

HAVING heard of great things done by the mighty power of God, in many nations beyond the seas, whither He hath called forth many of our dear brethren and sisters, to preach the everlasting Gospel ; by whom He hath revealed the mystery of His Truth, which hath been hid from ages and generations, who are now in strange lands, in great straights and hardships, and in the daily hazard of their lives ;—our bowels yearn for them, and our hearts are filled with tender love to those precious ones of God, who so freely have given up for the Seed's sake, their friends, their near relations, their country and worldly estates, yea, and their own lives also ; and in the feeling we are [have] of their trials, necessities and sufferings, we do therefore in the unity of the Spirit and bond of Truth, cheerfully agree, in the

* Scalehouse is understood to be situated within the district of Richmond Monthly Meeting.

No. CXI.

A TESTIMONY CONCERNING THE BEGINNING OF THE WORK OF THE LORD, AND THE FIRST PUBLICATION OF TRUTH, IN THIS CITY OF LONDON; AND ALSO CONCERNING THE CAUSE, END, AND SERVICE OF THE FIRST APPOINTMENT AND SETTING UP OF THE MEN'S MEETING AT THE BULL AND MOUTH; THAT IT MAY BE KNOWN TO ALL PERFECTLY, HOW THE LORD HATH BEGUN AND CARRIED ON HIS WORK TO THIS DAY.

[THIS highly interesting document, signed by Edward Burrough, and dated 1662, is taken from a

Lord's name and power, to move and stir up the hearts of Friends in these counties, (whom God hath called and gathered out of the world,) with one consent, freely and liberally, to offer up unto God of their earthly substance, according as God hath blessed every one,—to be speedily sent up to London, as a free-will offering for the Seed's sake; that the hands of those that are beyond the seas in the Lord's work, may be strengthened, and their bowels refreshed, from the love of their brethren. And we commit it to the care of our dear brethren of London, Amos Stoddart, Gerrard Roberts, John Boulton, Thomas Hart and Richard Davis, to order and dispose of what shall be from us sent unto them, for the supply of such as are already gone forth, or such as shall be moved of the Lord to go forth, into any other nation; of whose care and faithfulness we are well assured.

And such Friends as are here present, are to be diligent in their several counties and places; that the work may be hastened with all convenient speed.

Signed by many Friends; amongst them are

Thomas Aldam,
John Killam,
Thomas Bewley,
Thomas Taylor,

Marmaduke Storr,
John Richmond,
William Smith.

collection of copies of letters and papers, in four folio volumes, entitled "*John Pennington's Collec-*

The next document is addressed simply as follows :—

BRETHREN AND FRIENDS,

It having pleased God, in his marvellous love, in these latter days to reveal the mystery of his gospel, which hath been hid from ages and generations, and to make manifest his glorious Truth, which hath been long lost in the dark night of apostacy, since the days of the Apostles,—and chosen England before all the nations of the world, as the land of his delight, and to bring forth many thousands therein, (as a kind of first fruits to the glory of his name,) unto whom He hath given to see those days that many righteous souls long waited for and thirsted after ;—let us all, in the simplicity of Truth, (which at the first was made manifest to us,) abide and dwell, and in the liberty Christ Jesus hath made us free, stand fast ; that we be not again led back into the errors of those that went before us, who left the power, and got into the form, who brought in that darkness which hath so long covered the face of the earth, that no footsteps may be left for those that shall come after, or to walk by example : but that all they may be directed [by] and left to the Truth, in it to live and walk, and by it to be guided : that none may look back at us, nor have an eye behind them ; but that all may look forward, waiting in the Spirit for the revelation of those glorious things, which are to be made manifest to them.

It is needful that we call to mind, how long, and in what manner, the world has been distracted and divided, about those things which the Apostles practised ; and what sad calamity (besides the loss and departure from the Truth) has come upon many nations, about forms and ways of discipline and government of the church (so called ;) some saying the Apostles made bishops, and gave them power, and they ordained Elders ; others saying, nay, it was by the laying on the hands of the presbytery ; and others, pleading it was the election and choice of the churches. And how have men gathered themselves into forms and sects, according to their divers persuasions ; and how are others setting up committees to approve and send forth preachers, and give them

tion of his *Father's Manuscripts*," and preserved in London. These volumes, (which are very closely

maintenance, seeing into the errors of the former : but all being ignorant of the life, or of the true power. And thus have men usurped one over another, and intruded into those things they understood not ; and by human policy and invention, set up a carnal, worldly religion and worship, which has for many hundred years overspread the whole face of the earth.

Wherefore, in love and tenderness, and in the fear of the Lord, we exhort, that we may all in the unity of the Spirit, dwell in the pure wisdom, which is from above ; which *comprehends* that which would lead out to the setting up persons or things : that the power of the Godhead may be known in the body, in that perfect freedom which every member hath in Christ Jesus ; that none may exercise lordship or dominion over another, nor the person of any be set apart, but as they continue in the power of Truth. And that none exercise any authority, but such to whom it is freely given in the Lord for the good of the body : that all the world's images and ways, and forms and sects, may be condemned and confounded ; and the glory of Christ's body made manifest, in that wisdom and in that power, which the world cannot comprehend ; that Truth itself in the body may reign, not persons nor forms : and that all such may be honoured, as stand in the life of the Truth ; wherein is the power, not over, but in, the body ; that our path may be as the way of a ship in the sea, which no deceit can follow or imitate.

That for the better ordering of the outward estate of Friends, in all relations in and to the world and to one another, in wisdom and as becomes the Truth, and for making collections for the needs of the church,—[let] as many particular meetings, or some Friends from each of them that are near, and can conveniently, meet together once a month, or as occasion shall require : and as many of such Monthly Meetings, or some Friends from each of them in the northern parts of England, as can conveniently come together in a General Meeting twice or thrice in a year, or as occasion requires, be joined and united : and that we may not tie up ourselves to the world's limits of counties and places ; but

written) contain a large number of Isaac Pennington's letters and papers; many of them have at

join together as may conduce to the union and fellowship of the church, and to the mutual help of one another in the Lord; and we wish the like may be settled in all parts, and one General Meeting of [or for] England.

That for the supplying the needs of the church, and relieving such as are in want, it may be laid upon Friends in every meeting to take care of their own poor; to supply such as are aged and infirm in body; to provide employment for such as want work, or cannot follow their former callings by reason of the evil therein; and to help such parents for the education of their children, as have more than they can maintain: that there may not be a beggar amongst us, nor any whose soul need be oppressed with care for food or raiment. And where Friends of one meeting are overburthened, and under a greater charge than they can bear, that Friends at each Monthly Meeting, take care to contribute to their assistance.

That Friends at each Monthly Meeting do take care to provide supply for such as are in the ministry amongst them, where there is need; as also for the relief of Friends in prison, or any other, suffering for the Truth's sake, according to their several wants; and to make collections from time to time for the same. And where Friends of any Monthly Meeting are under a greater charge and burden than they can well bear, the General Meeting of Friends in the North to take care to contribute to them; that we may all bear one another's burdens, and walk in love as becomes brethren.

That all collections made by any particular meeting, be paid to such hands, and disposed to such ends, as Friends of that Meeting shall appoint; and the same likewise to be observed by each Monthly Meeting with their collections; and the like also by Friends of the North, at their General Meetings: that the true power of the whole body, and of every part thereof, may be preserved; that every member may act in its own freedom, and every meeting in its own authority, as part of that body which Christ Jesus hath set free. And none to usurp over another; but let him that would be

different times been published. The Editor is not aware that the document in question has ever been

greatest, be servant unto all : that as Friends according to their freedom do contribute, they may be also satisfied it is laid out by the power and in the wisdom of the body to whom they commit it.

That all collections made by Friends at their Monthly Meetings, as also at their General Meetings, be for the needs of the churches in general, and not limited for those only that are in the ministry ; who will be as much grieved, as others offended, to have a maintenance or hire raised on purpose for them.

That for the more clearness of Truth, and satisfaction of Friends, two or more persons be still appointed in all trusts about moneys, and be privy to all receipts and disbursements ; that the innocency of the upright may be known, and all deceit be prevented.

That all Friends that receive any collections, do from time to time, make account to Friends of the particular meeting, Monthly Meeting or General Meeting, by whom they were entrusted ; and in order thereunto, that a note under two or more hands be sent out of every county, with such collections as are appointed by the General Meeting, to be produced, together with an account how it hath been disbursed [at] the next General Meeting, together with an account how such are entrusted therewith ; and that particular notes from every Meeting under two or more hands be sent with their collections to such persons as are appointed by the Monthly Meeting to receive the same, to be produced together with the account how it hath been discharged, at the next Monthly Meeting after : and after every account so made and cleared, all papers to be concealed, and no further remembrance thereof to be had, which may beget many offences in future time, but cannot be of any service to the Truth.

Dear Friends, these things being agreed and [*word indistinct*] in clearness of Truth, which hitherto have taken up much time at the General Meetings, to the loss of many precious opportunities,—you will see greater things before you, which more chiefly concern the state of the church, and will be of greater service to the Truth ; as

printed or referred to in any treatise upon our early discipline : it is not only valuable as an ancient

our Friends who bring this from us may lay before you, as there is freedom and opportunity.

*From Friends met together
at Durham, from several
Meetings in and adjoining
to the County of Durham,
the 1st day of the
8th Month, 1659 : to
Friends who shall meet
together out of the several
Northern Counties, at
Skipton, the 5th of the
8th Month, 1659.*

[Signed by twenty names ;
amongst them, Anthony
Pearson, Richard Wilson,
Christopher Richmond, &c.]

THIS letter was presented and read at the General Meeting at Skipton, the Fifth day of the 8th Month, 1659 ; and was by all Friends owned and approved, and agreed to be observed ; and copies thereof to be sent to all Monthly Meetings : Thomas Killam, Samuel Watson, Henry Ward, William Gandy.

[*This document is endorsed.*] “ *To Thomas Doudney, at the Bell Savage in London, deliver this ; and for him to give or send it to G. F., with speed and care to be delivered to him, where he is.*”

[Another document of a similar kind, recommends a collection to be raised for the service of Truth abroad, dated from the General Meeting, held at Skipton, the 25th day of the 2nd Month, 1660 ; it commences thus :]

“ DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

“ WE having certain information from some Friends of London, of the great work and service of the Lord beyond the seas, in several parts and regions, as Germany, America, and many other islands and places, as Florence, Mantua, Palatine, Tuscany, Italy, Rome, Turkey, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Antigua, Jamaica, Surinam, [?] Newfoundland ; through all which, Friends have passed in the service of the Lord, and divers other countries, places,

record, but very instructive. Respecting the primitive meeting alluded to, held at the Bull and Mouth, London, William Crouch gives us the following account :

“ After the taking of the house called Bull and Mouth, for a meeting place, as aforesaid, the ancient men Friends about the City, did sometimes meet together, to the number of eight or ten, (sometimes a few more added,) in an upper room belonging to the place; there to consult about, and consider of the affairs of Truth; and to communicate to each other what the Lord opened in them, for the promotion thereof; and also to make such provision to supply all necessary occasions, which the service of the church might require. And now also, some ancient women Friends did meet together, to consider of what appertained to them, as their most immediate care and concern; to inspect the circumstances and condition of such who were imprisoned on Truth’s account, and to provide things needful to supply their wants: and what did or might more immediately concern men Friends, the women would acquaint them therewith: and all was done in great love and unity;—no jar or discord amongst them,—no repining or murmuring; but a sweet harmony and agreement was preserved in all things. These

islands and nations; and among many nations of the Indians, in which they have had service for the Lord, and through great travails have published His name, and declared the everlasting gospel of peace unto them that have been afar off, that they might be brought nigh unto God,” &c.

[A collection is then recommended in every particular meeting, to be sent “as formerly to London, for the service and use aforesaid.”]

women did also inquire into and inspect the wants and necessities of the poor, who were convinced of the Truth: and they sat not still, until the cry of the poor came to their houses; but when they did suppose or discover a want of help, their charity led them to inquire into their conditions, and to minister to their necessities. And thus things were carried on with cheerfulness and brotherly kindness, in the infancy of the church: all whisperings and backbitings were shut out, and love and good will to all were promoted and cherished. And afterwards as Truth grew and prospered, and many came to be added to the faith, the meetings came through the Providence of God, to be settled in order and method, as at this day."—*Memoirs of William Crouch*, Sect. III.]

THE FOLLOWING IS A COPY OF THE TESTIMONY.

It having pleased the Lord God of heaven and earth, by his Spirit and power to move the hearts and spirits of divers of us, the ministers of his everlasting Gospel of truth and salvation, to come to this great city of London, to publish and declare the message of eternal life, which we had received power from the Father to do; that people might be warned of the day of their visitation, and turned from darkness to the light, and from Satan's power to God, and be converted to the knowledge of the ways of salvation, that their souls might live; for our testimony was and is the same, as ever was held forth by the holy prophets and apostles of old. To which moving of the Lord in us, we were obedient; and though in much weakness, and not without many trials, tribulations, and difficulties, we entered

this city, and as the wisdom of God prepared our way, we began to publish and declare the things of the kingdom of God, as we had received the gift thereof, in power and authority,—to the wounding and piercing of many consciences, and to the quickening and awakening the witness of God in many hearts, as is well known to the faithful this day. And though we met with, and were exercised in, many trials and much opposition from men of all conditions; yet we were not discouraged, nor of fearful hearts, nor fainting in the work of the Lord, nor overcome by oppositions; but we went on in boldness and confidence in God, holding forth the perfect way of salvation to all, both by doctrine, practice, and conversation; which have been to this day, every way according to the ancient and true gospel of peace, and there is not any other.

And we being carried on in faithfulness to this work, unto which we were thus called and ordained, it pleased the Lord to bless us and prosper his work in our hands; and our labour and travails were successful, to accomplish the good and happy end of converting and turning many to the Lord, and to walk in his way of truth and peace; wherein they found perfect rest and peace to their souls, and assurance in his mercies for ever, through faith in the gospel held forth by us. The Spirit of the Father doth testify this in the hearts of many in this City, in whom the seed of God is raised up by his power, by the ministry of Christ sent unto them; insomuch that they with us, are now both partakers of the grace, love, wisdom, and inheritance of the everlasting Father; and have no master but Christ, and are all brethren;—no lord nor commander, no shepherd nor preserver, but the Lord Jesus Christ alone;

and He is become all in all unto us all, who have believed and received him, and are gathered into his fold, and born of his seed elect, which is blessed for ever.

And though some few of us were at first particularly called and chosen of God to this work, and have been instruments to publish his name, and preach his gospel in this city for these divers years; and the Lord by us hath gathered many people to himself, to know him, and be taught of him, according to his covenant of promise, in conversion and regeneration; yet of all this happy and blessed work accomplished and still carrying on, the praise and worth thereof pertains not unto us, but unto the living God, who is the fulness and fountain of all good things; and hath only chosen us as vessels of his glory, and instruments in his hand, to bear and publish his name in the world; having endued us with power, wisdom, and strength from himself for such a work: and his alone is the honour and renown of all his own works, now and for evermore. Yea, the Holy Spirit of the Father is witness, and bears full proof in us and for us, that we have not sought ourselves in any thing in this case, nor taken too much upon us, nor been as lords over God's heritage, nor exalted ourselves among them, nor preached ourselves, but Christ Jesus, and ourselves their servants for His sake. We have been no otherwise in any case, than becomes such a calling and profession in the gospel; and are only to be accounted of, as stewards of the grace of God, and dispensers of his holy word, and ministers of Christ; and such as are instruments in his hand to gather the flock, and go before them in truth and righteousness, in meekness and uprightness and all the

fruits of the Spirit, both in doctrine and conversation, and also in sufferings, tribulations, and afflictions for the same. Thus ought we to be esteemed, loved and obeyed, and not otherwise : and the Spirit of Christ thus witnesseth, in us and for us, in the hearts of the faithful in this city ; to which we can, in all boldness and confidence of our pure consciences, commend ourselves to be approved and justified,—for to that testimony are we known.

And though we appeared at first in much weakness, and for the name of Christ were despicable amongst men, and were liable to reproaches, necessities, and afflictions for his sake, and had no men to stand by us, or to help to bear our burdens, at our first coming to this place, as being strangers both in body and spirit to the whole city ; yet the Lord appeared for us, and his power and wisdom were manifest through us in a large manner ; his strength, authority, dignity and riches were exalted and administered through our weakness and poverty in spirit ; and many were made truly sensible thereof in their own souls, in whose hearts the word of the Lord had place, to his own praise. And as we began, so we went on, in the name and power of Christ Jesus, in the work of the Lord in this city ; and it prospered daily, and grew honourable and fruitful in the hearts of many, who believed our testimony, and received the Truth : and all such gave up themselves in soul, body and estate, to obey the Truth, and to follow Christ as they had received Him. And in the space of about two years' time, Truth was much spread, and many were convinced, and turned to the Lord, to believe, obey, and acknowledge the message of eternal life : and he kept us faithful in those times, as at this day, to hold

forth the testimony of his Truth in all trials, through all tribulations, and against all oppositions. And God hath made his Truth to prosper through our ministry, from the beginning until this moment; and we have in a measure seen the blessed effect of the travail of our souls, and are satisfied.

And, as I have said, in some space of time after our coming to this City, the work of the Lord was much increased, and had grown into good esteem with many; and it advanced greater and greater daily, in respect of the service pertaining to it. And many occasions happened, and divers matters came to pass daily in relation to the Truth, all which occasions and matters so coming to pass, were to be ordered and managed with all heavenly wisdom and prudence, for the prosperous carrying on the good work of the Lord, so happily begun in this City and nation. And the occasions and matters happening in relation to Truth to be managed as aforesaid, were such as so properly did not belong or appertain to us of the ministry to be exercised in, as to the Friends of the City who had believed in the Truth; (to wit;)—concerning providing convenient meeting-places for the publishing of Truth,—and how the poor people that believed, should be honestly taken care for, that no want should be amongst them,—and that the sick and weak and impotent should be visited and provided for,—and that such servants as were put away out of their services for receiving the Truth, should be looked after, and placed in some honest employments. These occasions, with many more of the like kind, relating to the service of Truth, were administered to be looked after and managed in God's wisdom and power, as Truth grew in the

City and increased : which occasions and services, as I have said, were not so proper for us of the ministry, as for the Friends of the City : neither had we the opportunity of such exercises, being wholly devoted to the work of the ministry, to which we were ordained of God, and were continually exercised in preaching the gospel, in answering books and manuscripts put forth against us, and in disputes and contentions with such as opposed the Truth. These and the like services have been our continual work and exercise for these divers years, faithfully performed by us in the sight of God ; for which our reward is with us, in our peace and comfort with the living God for ever. Therefore seeing such occasions, as aforesaid, fell out to be managed for the service of Truth in this City, and that they were not so proper for us, as for the Friends of the City, to look after and serve in ; and also seeing necessity (for the carrying on the work of the Lord) required the prudent and orderly management of such affairs ;—we therefore, in the name, power and wisdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, as we were endued with the same, and as He had given us power and authority so to do, for the furtherance of the gospel and prosperity of the work of the Lord, committed to our charge,—did by virtue of the same, ordain and appoint,—that the men Friends of the City, or the ancientest of them in the Truth, (not excluding any,) should meet together at the Bull and Mouth or elsewhere, once in the fortnight, or once a month, as they in the wisdom of God should find it necessary, for the management of Truth's affairs. And in such their meetings they should wisely consider and determine, in and concerning the matters and occasions and

such like before-mentioned; and that they should order in outward things relating to Truth; and be assisting one to another, for the good and honour and service of the Truth, and the Friends of it, so much as in them lay, according to that measure of the wisdom of God given to them, in perfect love and unity together; bearing one another's burdens, and helping together in mutual concord and good will: that in all things in the respects before mentioned, good and wholesome order and government and management might be carried on among the flock of Christ; so as that Truth might be honoured, and have a good report among all men, while they behold the comely and honest order and government of all outward affairs in the wisdom of God amongst us.

Thus for these causes, and for these ends, to the service and honour of the Truth, was your meeting of men as aforesaid ordained and appointed; that ye in your places according to your gifts, as well as we in our callings to which we were ordained and sent forth, should be helpful and assistant one to another; and in unity together, advising, and counselling, and agreeing, and assenting one to another, for the management of Truth's affairs, and to the carrying on of the blessed work of the Lord God begun in this nation and City:—not to be divided, I say,—ye not contrary to us, nor we to you, in any case relating to the good and wholesome ordering of affairs pertaining to Truth; but we to go on in the ministry of the gospel, in our gifts and callings and works, as aforesaid, to the gathering of more to the Lord; and ye to be faithful in your services and works appointed you in the wisdom of God, and to go on in and by the counsel and in-

structions of the power, wisdom, and authority of Christ Jesus, which gave you your power, and ordained you to your service,—which through us, (as ministers of the same,) was communicated to you from the Father : that these gifts might dwell in you also, and enable you as well as us, in dear and tender unity together, for the work of the Lord in our generation ; which he hath appointed to be effected in his own power and Spirit dwelling in his people, in the union and fellowship together,—in advising and consenting unto one another, in what we are each of us called to manage and perform on the Lord's behalf, for his service : not acting for self-ends, apart, reservedly, or oppositely one to another, in any work pretendedly for the Lord ; but going on in unity together, asking, giving and taking counsel, advice and information one of another in the Lord ; and all for the better carrying on his good work, that it may prosper in the earth.

And accordingly, in the counsel and authority of God, and for the causes and ends aforesaid, that meeting was first set up, now some years ago ; and then entered upon its work and service, and began to consider and order concerning the things and occasions before mentioned, relating to the service of Truth : in which service the Lord blessed the meeting, and made it in some measure prosperous, (as at this day,) to the good government and well ordering of the affairs of Friends in outward things : and all this effected through the power and wisdom of the Lord God manifest in the hearts of his people, and in our concurrence together in the same ; that we together one with another, may give our judgment and advice, for the just and righteous determination of all affairs in the service of Truth.

Thus we assisting one another in the work of the Lord, we in our callings and places, and you in yours,—each one walking in the integrity of his heart to the Lord, and concurring together in the consideration and judgment of things pertaining to the Truth ; not you against us, nor without us, to proceed in the determination of Truth's affairs ; but in the same power, Spirit, and authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is with us,—and in which we have been instrumental to turn you to the Lord, and to watch over the flock of Christ unto this day ;—nor we to judge nor determine in the affairs of Truth otherwise than may answer the testimony of Christ in your consciences, in which ye may have unity.

Thus hath it been, and shall it be manifest, that the one Spirit of love and unity guides us, and rests with us in all our ways ; and that every one of us by that same Spirit do walk with the Lord, and serve him faithfully, in whatsoever we are called unto, each one in his place. And this way is of the Lord, to our everlasting peace, and the honour of His name, to go on together in love and unity, and without the least grain of contempt one of another, or lordliness over one another ; for this is not of the Father, but tends to destroy and confound what we have wrought for the Lord in our day. If (I say) there be any such spirit of slighting or contempt on your part, of the ministry and ministers of the gospel, who have been faithful instruments to beget you to the Lord, and do faithfully go before you in afflictions and persecutions for the Truth's sake at this day ;—or if on our part do arise any lordliness or self-seeking over and among the flock of Christ, which God hath made us

overseers of, to watch over their souls, of which we must give an account unto Him ;—this kind of spirit is not from above, but is devilish ; and its effects will be destructive, and bring the wrath of the Lord against such as shall ever give place unto it. Wherefore it behoves all the saints, always to be watchful against the spirit of the power of darkness, lest at any time there should be a withdrawing or turning aside from the paths of peace and prosperity ; which may also dishonour the God of heaven, who hath thus far marvellously wrought for us, in gathering us to be his chosen people to his praise ; who were sometimes strangers to him, as others, but now are called and faithful and chosen. Let us therefore stand always armed with his power and patience—with his meekness, innocency and righteousness ; and be in true subjection to him, and one to another, each one minding to fulfil the will of the Father, in what He calls unto ; not intruding without the Lord's call into anything, or to judge one of another beyond the measure of the Spirit of true judgment ; but every one to live and walk in the particular measure of the life of righteousness, begotten in him of the Father ; and in that let us all be joined to concur in judgment and practice, in carrying on the work of the Lord, according to his purpose in our day ; being all of a weighty and careful spirit to do His will : and this is a charge in the presence of God our heavenly Father, to all concerned ; and to whom I am moved of the Lord to write this for the service of Truth.

And this may truly inform all who desire it, concerning the cause, end, and service of the aforesaid meeting ; and may be as an answer to the question, why, for what use and service, was that

meeting at first appointed, and what was the power and authority of it? Herein, I say, is the same resolved, which may be for the service of our age,—that all who are young in the Truth, and have not frequented that meeting from the first beginning of it, and such also as shall unite yet in that same assembly, both in our age and in ages to come, may not be doubtful, but certainly know the very just cause, end, and service, and extent of this said meeting, and upon what ground it was first ordained; and [that] this meeting still be continued and preserved in all wisdom and sincerity, in the fear, and name, and authority, and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, as it was ordained and begun at the first; that is to say :

First, that the meeting do consist of just and righteous men, all believing in the Truth, and walking in the same,—men of sound principles and judgment in the truth of Christ,—of good and blameless conversation amongst men,—and such that have kept their integrity and first principles, and abide in love and unity in the Lord amongst themselves; the meeting not limited to a number of persons, but freedom for all Friends in Truth, (none excepted,) as they are moved to come for the service of Truth,—to assist in counsel and advice for the good of the body, and the carrying on the work of the Lord. But if any person out of the Truth and of another spirit, contrary to the faith of Christ professed and practised by Friends, come to the meeting, such are not members thereof, but are excluded from having their advice and judgment taken in matters of Truth, pertaining to the service of the Lord.

Secondly, that the meeting be kept once a-week

or fourteen days, as service and Truth's necessities do require, as the Friends see cause when and where to appoint it: and being orderly come together, not to spend time with needless, unnecessary and fruitless discourses; but to proceed in the wisdom of God, in such things as may upon occasion be moved amongst you, for the service of Truth and good order of the body; to hear and consider, and if possible to determine the same in justice and truth,—not in the way of the world, as a worldly assembly of men, by hot contests, by seeking to outspcak and over-reach one another in discourse, as if it were controversy between party and party of men, or two sides violently striving for dominion, in the way of carrying on some worldly interests for self-advantage; not deciding affairs by the greater vote, or the number of men, as the world, who have not the wisdom and power of God;—that none of this kind of order be permitted in your meeting. But in the wisdom, love and fellowship of God, in gravity, patience, meekness, in unity and concord, submitting one to another in lowliness of heart, and in the holy Spirit of truth and righteousness, all things to be carried on; by hearing and determining every matter coming before you, in love, coolness, gentleness, and dear unity;—I say, as one only party, all for the Truth of Christ, and for the carrying on the work of the Lord, and assisting one another in whatsoever ability God hath given; and to determine of things by a general mutual concord, in assenting together as one man in the spirit of truth and equity, and by the authority thereof. In this way and spirit all things are to be amongst you, and without perverseness, in any self-separation, in discord and

partiality ; this way and spirit is wholly excepted, as not worthy to enter into the assembly of God's servants, to give any judgment or counsel amongst them, in any case pertaining to the service of the church of Christ ; in which his Spirit of love and unity must rule.

Thirdly,—And if at any time, any matter or occasion be presented to the meeting, which is doubtful or difficult, or not within the judgment of Friends then assembled, they not having full knowledge or experience of the matters depending,—that then on such occasions the judgment be suspended, lest any unfruitful contest should arise through want of full knowledge and discerning in that case, or any determination be made unsoundly or untruly ; till more Friends that are anciently grown in the Truth have the understanding of the matter, as it hath been from the beginning : and that we may be present, assisting in counsel and judgment with that meeting in all such things, for the carrying on the work of the Lord ; and that all things may be ordered in all verity and soundness of judgment, for the honour of the Lord and happiness of his people, in all outward affairs relating to the Truth. For the proper work and service of the meeting is, for the well ordering of the affairs of the Truth in outward things, among the body of Friends ; and that a general concord and assent may be among the ancients of them, for the government of the whole, by hearing and considering of things fitting for the advancement of Truth.

Fourthly,—But if at any time, any strife or division shall happen to fall out amongst Friends, as between any two Friends, or between a Friend and a stranger, concerning any outward things, as bargains, debts,

or the like,—that then the said meeting, in the wisdom of God, make inquiry or search into the same, if the matter be presented to them; otherwise they may send two persons of the meeting, or send for the parties, concerning whom such divisions are, before them; and to inquire diligently into the cause and ground of the same, and to use all possible fair means, in the wisdom of God, for the ending of all such strifes and contentions, which may happen among Friends aforesaid; that the body may be preserved in peace and love together, and not rent with divisions about outward things, which are of no moment in comparison of the eternal substance. And inasmuch as divisions and contentions of that kind are exceeding prejudicial to the wounding of the body, and have woeful effects to the dishonour of the name of the Lord and his Truth, professed by us,—therefore in the authority of Christ it is enjoined that meeting, to take care upon it, and to be diligent as much as in you lies, to stop and prevent all divisions and contentions among Friends, that at any time may arise or happen to be; that peace and concord may flourish among us, and the name of the Lord be kept undefiled, and the work of the Lord may be carried on in all wisdom and power.

Fifthly,—That cognizance be taken, and records faithfully kept, of all births, marriages, and burials, that shall happen to be of, and among Friends. That marriages particularly, be carefully ordered in the wisdom of God, according to the honest beginning used amongst us; and by so much the more, as false and self-corrupted persons and ends may creep in amongst us, upon pretence of motion from God in that case, to the hurt of the persons themselves,

and the dishonour of Truth,—the more diligent care is to be had concerning the same. And that such marriages only be recorded, and none else, of such persons believing, professing, and walking in the truth of Christ Jesus; and such as are known to be of just, upright, and blameless conversations; and of whom it is believed they are moved of the Lord, or otherwise proceed upon reasonable causes, in the fear, counsel, and wisdom of God, in their undertaking to come together in marriage: so that their going together may be justified to be, in and according to the truth of Christ; that so it may be recorded among Friends in the light, and testified to by them in prosperity or adversity, as occasion shall require; otherwise not to be recorded, but rather the parties reprov'd and rebuked in the power and authority of Christ Jesus.

Sixthly,—That especial care be taken concerning provision for the poor that believe and profess the Truth; and that such who are of ability of body to labour, that have not whereon to work, nor wherewith to maintain themselves,—as servants, who may happen to be put forth of their places, or otherwise,—to be set to some employment to serve themselves in the creation: for the end that all things of this kind may be wisely ordered among the flock of Christ, and for the honour of Truth in the world; that as on the one hand, there may be no want or complaining of necessity, by such as be poor and weak in body and estate,—so on the other hand, no sloth or idleness be permitted in any that profess the way of Truth, by depending on Friends for maintenance. Thus shall the Truth be honoured, and the work of the Lord promoted in city and nation. And that the meeting of the women Friends

be assisting to help the prudent ordering of affairs, particularly in this case; for which end that meeting was appointed in the wisdom of God by us on this occasion, viz., some years since the first appointment of the men's meeting, as before was shewed. It was seen and considered by us, that the affairs concerning Truth being grown more large daily, and that it was not so proper for the men as for the women to visit the sick, and to search out the necessities of the poor, weak, widows, and aged,—that therefore the women Friends should keep a like meeting at such convenient times and places, as they in God's wisdom should see cause; to be assisting, in what was convenient, to the men; especially in that particular of visiting the sick and weak, and looking after the poor, widows, and fatherless,—and that provision should be made for them, how and after what manner, as they in God's wisdom should be taught; and this was the very occasion of the first setting up that meeting of women, which since hath continued for the body, and been happy and prosperous in the work for which it was appointed; and it is in the same manner ordered, in the authority of Christ, to be continued in the service aforesaid.

Seventhly,—That care be taken in the meeting of men, for the collecting and preserving all Friends sufferings, past and to come, which have been or shall happen to be, in and about this city and country; and that the same, with what remarkable passages falling out in relation to the Truth as it is judged fit, be prudently recorded, plainly, fully and amply, for the service of this age, and for the ages to come.

These also and what other things in relation to the service of Truth, pertaining to the outward affairs

thereof, as is found fitting, [are] to be considered and managed by the Friends of Truth in the said meeting; and that in unity and love, in the counsel and wisdom of the Lord God, every person be diligent in his place to fulfil the service required of the Lord, for the service of his Truth in general.

These things was I moved of the Lord to write forth, in the name, and power, and authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, for the service of Truth; and in the same name, power, and authority, and by virtue of the love of Christ and the testimony of his Spirit which I have received, do I enjoin the free and perfect observation of the things herein signified; and that Friends in the Truth be diligent and careful, every one according to the grace and wisdom of God given, in that meeting; and all this for the honour of the Lord God, and the promotion of his blessed work in the world.

Written, as moved of the Lord, in the ninth year of the publishing of Truth in this city, and is to be presented to the meeting of men to be read amongst them in the fear of the Lord.

By one that from the beginning hath travelled in the work of the Lord in this city,

1662.

Edward Burrough.

No. CXII.

[THE document to be next presented to the reader, is taken from an early manuscript, apparently a copy: it is imperfect, which is greatly to be re-

gretted ; yet the Editor is not easy on that account to reject it, seeing that it bears all the appearance from its style, of having been drawn up by George Fox ; and from the tenour of the last paragraph, it is probable that not much more remained to be added, to complete the document. This interesting account of the first establishment of meetings, the Editor, after diligent search, does not find to have been published or referred to, by any of our authors who have written upon the subject.

Since the above was written, the Editor has found this document entered in a catalogue of George Fox's Writings, preserved in London. This catalogue, (which appears in a handwriting very like that of Thomas Ellwood,) commences with the year 1644; and under each successive year, are entered the pieces written by George Fox; and frequently the first and last concluding words of each, are also introduced. Under the 6th month, 1689, is found the title of the present document, with the first sentence of it, and the last, viz.—“who is over all, from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.” A postscript is added, viz.—“*It may be serviceable for them that come after.*”]

CONCERNING OUR MONTHLY AND QUARTERLY
AND YEARLY MEETINGS, WHEREIN THE LORD
HATH OWNED, PROSPERED, AND BLESSED THEM ;
WHICH HATH BEEN OF GOOD SERVICE, TO HIS
GLORY, AND THE COMFORT OF HIS PEOPLE.

THE first Monthly Meeting was on this wise in the North :—though we did meet concerning the poor, and to see that all walked according to the Truth, before we were called Quakers, about the

middle of the nation in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and part of Leicestershire, where there was a great convincement.

In 1653, in Cumberland many of the Elders came to me at Swarthmore in Lancashire, and desired that they might have a Monthly Meeting, to look after the poor, and to see that all walked according to the Truth, &c. ; and they had a meeting settled there for the same purpose.

Then after [wards,] when the Truth was spread in Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland, Northumberland, Bishoprick and Yorkshire, and the edge of Wales, there was a meeting at Swarthmore, of some of the Elders of most of these places ; where we did consider to have Monthly Meetings, ordered by the power of the Lord, in most of these places. And then there was a Yearly Meeting settled at Skipton in Yorkshire, for all the northern and southern counties ; where in the wisdom of God, they did see that all walked according to the glorious gospel of God, and that there was nothing wanting among them ; and if there was, one county assisted another, either in relieving the poor, (in the Lord's counsel,) or in advice in sufferings, or any other matters.

After [wards] many Friends the Lord opened their mouths, and some of them went to London, and some to Bristol, and other places. The substantial men and Elders in the Truth came to the Yearly Meeting at Skipton, both from Bristol and London, and other places ; and there they gave an account of the prosperity and the spreading of the Lord's blessed Truth, and of what Friends the Lord [had] moved to go beyond the seas : for all that did travel into any parts, (in the motion of the

Lord,) or beyond the seas, they made the Monthly, Quarterly, or Yearly Meetings acquainted; so that all went in unity in the Spirit and fellowship of the church of Christ, and power of the Lord: and if there was occasion, Friends assisted them with that which is *the least love*. And all these meetings looked to see that all walked according to the gospel of Christ, and were faithful; and that all the poor in all the counties were looked after. And then the Yearly Meeting was removed to John Crook's; and all things there were looked into as before. And many that were there, were moved of the Lord to go beyond the seas: and marriages were looked into there, and settled, as they had been before at the meeting at Swarthmore, when many Friends met together out of many counties. And after [wards] the Yearly Meeting was kept at Balby in Yorkshire, where there were many thousands of people: and likewise at Skipton the same year, by the Elders there ordered from all parts, in the year 1660. And from thence, it was removed to London the next year, where it hath been kept ever since, as being looked upon a more convenient place.

And there we had intelligence from all parts beyond the seas, how Truth prospered and spread, both in England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, America, Holland, and Germany; and how Friends did walk in the Truth, in their conversation, both ministers and others, and as becomes the gospel; and to see that the camp of God was kept holy and clean, to his glory; and if there was any need of books concerning spreading the Truth beyond the seas, or any other parts; and all the sufferings were brought or sent up hither (*viz.* to the Yearly Meeting,) from all parts of the world where Friends were. And

Friends [were] to assist and relieve them, in what they could, at the Yearly Meeting, (or the Meeting for Sufferings in their absence,) with the King, Council, or Parliament, that were in his dominions; and they that were of other kingdoms or governments out of his dominions, we applied to the ambassadors or great persons here, or wrote unto them beyond the seas, to the Kings, Princes, or Governors, &c., to relieve Friends in their sufferings, &c. assisting them in what we could for their relief: and such as were taken captive by the Turks, the Yearly Meeting assisted and relieved, or in their absence the Meetings for Sufferings; and if there was any occasion for a collection, to help, to refresh and relieve captives or prisoners, or for other needful services. And there was not any public collection, but what was done at the Yearly Meeting (with the consent of all Friends from all parts,) for all general services; and there it was agreed upon in unity and in the Lord's power, by the consent of all Friends that came out of all counties to the Yearly Meeting. And then, in the absence of the Yearly Meeting, if there was any occasion for the relief of any captives, or prisoners, or sufferers, either in Turkey or any parts beyond the seas, or here in England, to help the sufferers, concerning Truth's affairs, and other public services,—the Yearly Meeting did desire the Meeting for Sufferings, between Yearly Meeting and Yearly Meeting, to assist and relieve poor Friends in their sufferings, both in England and beyond the seas, and all other needful services; and to give them a true account next Yearly Meeting of what they had laid out, and to whom, and for what services; and at the Yearly Meeting they made up their accounts, and had dis-

charges under their hand. So once a year the number of all the prisoners, both in England or beyond the seas, and that are captives in all other kingdoms and dominions, Friends are to have an account: [also] the number of all Friends that have died prisoners for Truth; and of all Friends in the ministry that have died every year. And at the Yearly Meeting, Friends have an account once a year from all the Yearly Meetings in the world, which are about twenty-six;* and Friends at the Yearly Meeting write to them again at their Yearly Meetings: so that once a year at the Yearly Meeting, God's people know the affairs of Truth, how it spreads, and how all walk according to the Truth; having a heavenly correspondence one with another in the heavenly society and fellowship. And also if there be any differences from any part about any matter, that cannot be ended at their Monthly or Quarterly Meetings, then they present it to the Yearly Meeting, where some are chosen to make an end of it: or any matters concerning sufferings, there it is answered at the Yearly Meeting, sent thither from the Quarterly Meetings; for what the Yearly Meeting receives is from the Quarterly Meetings, by them that are ordered from the

* In this number were doubtless included the Circulating or County Yearly Meetings in this Country. The following Yearly Meetings have been found mentioned in our records—Lancashire, Bristol, Wales, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Dublin, Maryland, Jamaica, Long Island, Rhode Island, Burlington—West Jersey, East Jersey, Pennsylvania, Bermudas, Holland, Dantzic, London; and it is probable there were also Yearly Meetings of Colchester, Norwich, Virginia, Antigua, Barbadoes, Nevis; besides other Country Yearly Meetings in England.

Quarterly Meeting to the Yearly Meeting, that be substantial elders, that know the affairs of the church of Christ in their county; they bring up their sufferings or any other case: but for private or particular letters, they seldom receive any, unless it be upon necessity or urgent occasions that fall out after the Quarterly Meeting; for in all counties their sufferings or any other case, are first brought to their Monthly Meetings; and if not ended there, then it is brought to their Quarterly Meetings; and if not ended there, then it is presented to their Yearly Meeting; where some are chosen out to hear it, and make a final end of it in the Lord's wisdom, in truth and righteousness, without respect to any.

For, in the first conversion to Christianity, after Christ was ascended, there were seven men of honest report and full of the Holy Ghost, and of wisdom, chosen out to be deacons, &c., and to look after the poor, and widows, and to see that nothing was wanting; then all was well: and Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch was one; and you may see how he run out into bad things, and drew a company after him, that were called Nicolaitans, whom God hated, as in Rev. ii. 15. And when the Gospel was spread abroad in the world by the apostles, and any difference was in the churches, they went up to Jerusalem to the apostles and elders; and they declared all things that God had done with and by them; and there they decided the differences: and the apostles and elders, the church at Jerusalem, wrote Epistles and sent them by Paul and Barnabas: as they went through every city, they delivered them the decrees to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders

which were at Jerusalem : and so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily, Acts xvi. 4, 5. And the apostles, the ministers of Christ, ordained elders in every church : so there was not a church but they had their elders also, Acts xiv. 23 : so you may see there was not a church but they had their elders ; then there was more than seven deacons, when elders were ordained in every church. And the apostle saith to Titus, " For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting," or left undone ; " and ordain elders in every city, as I have appointed thee : " Titus i. 5. Concerning both the aged men and aged women,—men " sound in the faith," &c., and " holy women," &c. : Titus ii. 3. And Peter writes " to the elders : " 1 Peter v. 1 : and John writes, " The Elder unto the elect lady and her children ; " and said, " I rejoiced greatly, that I found of thy children walking in truth : " 2 John i. 4 : and many other scriptures might be brought to the same purpose ; but this is sufficient to them that are in the same power and Spirit that gave them forth, and to correct the opposers of the order of Truth, by the same Spirit that was in the apostles, to the praise and glory of God :—the Lord increase his Truth and his order. Amen !

Much more I could write of the passages of Truth and its order ; but these are short heads and memorandums to Friends that have not known the beginning of it : for many of that separate spirit have talked of things in the beginning, and yet have opposed the order of Truth ;——

No. CXIII.

A TESTIMONY FROM THE BRETHREN, WHO WERE MET TOGETHER AT LONDON IN THE THIRD MONTH, 1666, TO BE COMMUNICATED TO FAITHFUL FRIENDS AND ELDERS IN THE COUNTIES, BY THEM TO BE READ IN THEIR SEVERAL MEETINGS, AND KEPT AS A TESTIMONY AMONGST THEM.

WE, your friends and brethren, whom God hath called to labour and watch for the eternal good of your souls, being at the time aforesaid, through the Lord's good hand which hath preserved us at liberty, met together in his name and fear, were by the operation of the Spirit of Truth brought into a serious consideration of the present state of the church of God; which in this day of her return out of the wilderness, hath not only many open but some covered enemies to contest against; who are not afraid to speak evil of dignities, and despise government; without which, we are sensible our safety and fellowship cannot be kept holy and inviolable. Therefore, as God hath put it into our hearts, we do communicate these things following unto you, who are turned from darkness to light, and profess fellowship with us in the glorious gospel, throughout nations and countries where we have travelled; as well for a testimony against the unruly, as to establish and confirm you, to whom it is given to believe the Truth; which unto us is very precious, as we believe it is also unto you, who in love have received it, and understood the principles, and felt the virtue and operation of it; in which

our spirits breathe, that we all may be preserved, until we have well finished our course and testimony, to the honour and glory of the Lord God, who is over all, blessed for ever.

First.—We having a true discerning of the working of that spirit, which under a profession of Truth, leads into a division from, or exaltation above, the body of Friends, who never revolted nor degenerated from their principles; and into marks of separation from the constant practice of good ancient Friends, who are sound in the faith which was once delivered unto us; and also into a slight esteem of their declaration or preaching, (who have and do approve themselves as the ministers of Christ,) and of the meetings of the Lord's people, whereby and wherein Friends are, and often have been preciousely revived and refreshed: and under pretence of crying down men and forms, do cry down the ministry and meetings, or encourage those which do the same.—We say, the Lord having given us to see, not only the working of that spirit, and of those that are joined to it, who bring forth those ungrateful fruits, but also the evil consequences and sad effects of the same, which are of no less importance than absolutely tending to destroy the work of God, and lay waste his heritage:*

* The spirit of disaffection and separation prevalent at this period through the influence of John Perrot, is here doubtless in view. Several addresses were issued by faithful Friends to warn and exhort the flock against this deceitful and wasting snare of the enemy; amongst them might be mentioned an Epistle of Stephen Crisp, as very instructive and affecting, viz. "*An Epistle to Friends, concerning the present and succeeding times,*" &c. 1666. On referring to the *Historical Letters* in this volume, page 166—168, the subject will also be found adverted to.

—we do unanimously, (being encouraged thereto by the Lord, whose presence is with us,) declare and testify, that neither that spirit, nor such as are joined to it, ought to have any dominion, office, or rule in the church of Christ Jesus, whereof the Holy Spirit, that was poured forth upon us, hath made us members and overseers : neither ought they to act or order the affairs of the same ; but are rather to be kept under with the power of God, till they have an ear open to instruction, and come into subjection to the witness of God ;—of the increase of whose kingdom and government there shall be no end.

Secondly.—We do declare and testify, that the spirit of those that are joined to it, who stand not in unity with the ministry and body of Friends, who are steadfast and constant to the Lord and his unchangeable Truth, (which we have received and are witnesses and ambassadors of,) have not any true spiritual right, nor gospel authority to be judges in the Church, and of the ministry of the gospel of Christ, so as to condemn them and their ministry : neither ought their judgment to be any more regarded by Friends, than the judgment of other opposers, which are without ; for of right the elders and members of the church, which keep their habitation in the Truth, ought to judge matters and things which differ ; and their judgment which is given therein, to stand good and valid amongst Friends, though it be kicked against, and disapproved by them who have degenerated, as aforesaid. And we do further declare and testify, that it is abominable pride that goes before destruction, that so puffs up the mind of any particular, [individual,] that he will not admit of any judgment to take

place against him; for he that is not justified by the witness of God in Friends, is condemned by it in himself; though being hardened, he may boast over it in a false confidence.

Thirdly.—If any difference arise in the church, or amongst them that profess to be members thereof, we do declare and testify, that the church, with the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, have power, without the assent of such as dissent from their doctrines and practices, to hear and determine the same. And if any pretend to be of us, and in case of controversy, will not admit to be tried by the church of Christ Jesus, nor submit to the judgment given by the Spirit of Truth in the Elders and members of the same; but kick against their judgment as only the judgment of man,—it being given and manifested according to Truth, and consistent with the doctrine of such good ancient Friends, as have been, and are sound in the faith, and agreeable to the witness of God in his people; when we testify in the name of the Lord, that if judgment so given be risen against and denied by the party condemned, then he or she, or such as so far partake of their sin as to countenance and encourage them therein, ought to be rejected, as having erred from the Truth.

Fourthly.—That the ministry may not be justly blamed, we declare that if any go abroad hereafter, pretending to that weighty work and service, who either in life or doctrine grieve good Friends that are stedfast in the Truth and sound in the faith, so that they are not manifest in their consciences, but disapproved by the witness of God in them; then ought they, whatever have been their gifts, to leave them before the altar, and forbear going abroad, until they are reconciled to the church, and have

the approbation of the Elders and members of the same. And if any, that have been so approved of by the church, do afterwards degenerate from the Truth, and do that which tends to division, and countenance wickedness and faction, as some have done, then the church hath a true spiritual right and authority to call them to examination; and if they find sufficient cause for it by good testimony, they may judge them unfit for the work of the ministry, whereof they have rendered themselves unworthy; and so put a stop to their proceedings therein: and if they submit not to the judgment of the Spirit of Christ in his people, then ought they publicly to be declared against, and warning given to the flock of Christ in their several meetings to beware of them, and to have no fellowship with them, that they may be ashamed; and the lambs and babes in Christ Jesus preserved.

Fifthly.—And if any man or woman who are out of unity with the body of Friends, print, or cause to be printed, or published in writing, anything which is not of service for the Truth, but tends to the reproach or scandal of faithful Friends, or to beget or uphold division or faction; then we do warn and charge all Friends that love the Truth, as they desire it may prosper and be kept clear, to beware and take heed of having any hand in printing, publishing, or spreading such books or writings; and if at any time such books be sent to any of you that sell books in the country, after ye, (with the advice of good and judicious Friends,) have tried and find them faulty, send them back from whence they came. And, we further desire that, from time to time, faithful and sound Friends and brethren, may have the view of such things as are

printed upon Truth's account, as formerly it has used to be, before they go to the press; that nothing but what is sound and savoury, that will answer the witness of God in all people, (even in our adversaries,) may be exposed by us to public view.

Sixthly.—We do advise and counsel, that such as are made overseers of the flock of God by the Holy Spirit, and do watch for the good of the church, (meeting together in their respective places, to set and keep the affairs of it in good order,) to beware of admitting or encouraging such as are of weak and of little faith, to take such trust upon them; for by hearing things disputed that are doubtful, such may be hurt themselves, and hurt the Truth; not being grown into a good understanding to judge of things. Therefore we exhort that you, who have received a true sense of things, be diligent in the Lord's business, and keep your meetings as to Him; that all may be kept pure and clean, according to that of God which is just and equal. We also advise that not any be admitted to order public business of the church, but such as are felt in a measure of the universal Spirit of Truth, which seeks the destruction of none, but the general good of all, and especially of those that love it, who are of the household of faith.

So dear Friends and brethren, believing that your souls will be refreshed in the sense of our spirits and integrity towards God, at the reading of these things, as we were, whilst we sat together at the opening of them; and that ye will be one with us in your testimony on the behalf of the Lord and his precious Truth, against those who would limit the Lord to speak without instruments, or by what instruments they list,—and who reject the counsel of the

wise men, and testimony of the prophets, whom God sanctified and sent among you in the day of his love, when ye were gathered,—and would not allow Him liberty in and by his servants, to appoint a place wherein to meet together, to wait upon and worship Him, (according as He requires) in spirit, but call this formal, and the meetings of man;—we say, believing that ye will have fellowship with us herein, as we have with you in the Truth, we commit you unto God, and to the word of life, that hath been preached unto you from the beginning; which is neither limited to time, nor place, nor persons, but hath power to limit us to each, as pleaseth Him :—that ye with us, and we with you, may be built up in the most holy faith, and be preserved to partake of the inheritance, which is heavenly, amongst all those that are sanctified.

Richard Farnsworth,	Stephen Crisp,
Alexander Parker,	Thomas Green,
George Whitehead,	John Moon,
Thomas Loe,	Thomas Briggs,
Josiah Cole,	James Parke.
John Whitehead,	

No. CXIV.

THE WRITTEN EPISTLE FROM THE YEARLY
MEETING, 1668.

DEAR FRIENDS,

IN the seed of life and in the Truth of God, in whom

our love is to you all, in that which changeth not,—this is to let you understand, [that] at the last meeting of Friends in the ministry which met in London, and who came out of most counties in England and Wales, at the time called Christmas last, (when we had several glorious meetings in the life and power of God,)—we did conclude among ourselves to settle a meeting, to see one another's faces, and open our hearts one to another in the Truth of God, once a year, as formerly it used to be; and once in two years for Friends in the ministry, that go in all parts beyond the seas, to come up and meet with us at London.

The next meeting will be about the time called Easter, in the year 1670, at London; when [we] shall desire to see your faces,—that we may see in all meetings that the — [word doubtful] be supplied, and that nothing be lacking;—then all is well: and that all walk as become the order of the gospel, which is the comely order in the power of God, which all uncomeliness is out of.

This is to be sent to C. Holder [and others named;]—and if there be any other that labour in the work of God, let them have notice, and copies of this;—and into all the plantations beyond sea, from one to another; and also to Holland, Scotland, Ireland and Wales.

G. Fox.

Leonard Fell,
Stephen Crisp,
John Story,
George Whitehead,

Alexander Parker,
John Stubbs,
Thomas Briggs,
John Whitehead.

London, the 16th of the 11th mo. 1668.

No. CXV.

AT A GENERAL MEETING OF FRIENDS, FOR
MANAGING THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS OF TRUTH
THROUGHOUT THE NATION, HELD AT DEVON-
SHIRE HOUSE, LONDON, 29TH OF 3RD MONTH,
1672.*

It is concluded, agreed, and assented unto, by Friends then present, that for the better ordering, managing, and regulating of the public affairs of Friends relating to the Truth and the service thereof, there be a General Meeting of Friends held at London, once a year, in the week called Whitsun-week, to consist of six Friends for the city of London, three for the city of Bristol, two for the town of Colchester, and one or two from each and every of the counties of England and Wales respectively. [*So far only printed in Book of Epistles.*] That the Quarterly Meetings in London, Bristol, Colchester, and all and every the counties of England and Wales respectively, at their Quarterly Meetings immediately preceding the said week called Whitsun-week in every year, do take care to nominate and appoint the number of Friends aforesaid, to be present at the General Meeting aforesaid; there to advise about the managing of the public affairs of Friends throughout the nation. That the Friends so to be chosen for the purpose afore-

* The first part only of this minute is printed, as the introductory article in the volume of the Epistles of the Yearly Meeting in London, 8vo. This copy is taken from one of the circulars issued on the occasion.

said, be desired to be at London by the Second day night of the Whitsun-week, so called, in every year at furthest. And upon their arrival there, the six Friends for the city of London, together with a competent number of the other Friends of the country, may then examine and appoint the time and place for the then meeting of the said General Meeting, sometime in the said week, called Whitsun-week, in every year accordingly, until further order be taken therein. That as many Friends that labour in the Truth, as have freedom thereunto, may be present at the said General Meeting: that all others, except such as are nominated, appointed, and chosen, be desired to forbear to come to the said General Meeting, except such Friends as they, when met together, shall see meet to admit.

That copies hereof be sent to the respective Quarterly Meetings throughout England and Wales, for their better regulation in the matter.

DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

IN that universal love, wherein we are mutually concerned in the service of Truth and one another, do we dearly salute you; and therein do signify unto you, that upon consideration had, of the public charge relating to Friends and Truth, at a General Meeting for the city and country, held this day at this place, it was found of absolute necessity, that a public collection be again made amongst Friends, in the several counties throughout England and Wales, for the management of Truth's affairs; particularly for Friends' supply who are called into the service of the Lord beyond seas; and for books that are disposed of and given away for the public ser-

vice, to the chief rulers and others concerned: as likewise considerable charge hath been, and may be, for packets of letters, together with accounts of Friends' general sufferings, with the charge of recording and often transcribing the same. Friends of London having made it appear, that for several years past, they have laid out near one hundred pounds a year upon these general services aforesaid, (besides that of the service beyond seas,) which do equally concern [Friends] in the country, as well as in the city, to bear, especially for the future. Wherefore we desire you that are concerned in the Quarterly Meetings, to take care that a collection be made accordingly in your county, for the intent and purpose afore-mentioned; and sent up, with as much convenient expedition as may be, to the hands of Gerard Roberts, Gilbert Latye, Edward Man, John Nelson, Arthur Cooke, or any one of them.

So not doubting your care herein, for the Truth's sake, desiring that Friends may be open-hearted, cheerful, diligent therein, as God hath blessed and prospered them; we remain your faithful Friends and brethren.

Signed in the name and by the appointment of the said General Meeting,

George Whitehead,
Alexander Parker,
John Whitehead,
Thomas Gouldney,

Francis Rogers,
John Crook,
William Welch,
Stephen Crisp.

*Devonshire House, London,
29th of 3rd month, 1672.*

CXVI.

EPISTLE FROM FRIENDS OF THE GENERAL
MEETING HELD IN LONDON, THE 31ST
OF 3RD MONTH, 1672.*

DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

FROM that universal love and care, which the Lord our God hath begotten in us towards one another, his church, and people, these things following are opened in us by His Holy Spirit, to present both unto you, who are called forth in a measure of the heavenly gift to labour and travel abroad to minister unto others, and unto you who are more resident in the several counties and meetings, who have a care and oversight committed to you by the Lord, in your respective places, counties and meetings, for the good order and comfort of the Church.

First.—To those that are called forth with a testimony for God, and those that are endued with an heavenly gift for that end,—our tender advice and counsel in the Spirit of life and true love is, that you all wait and dwell in the heavenly life and Spirit of the gospel, wherein both true judgment and mercy is; that thereby you all may be made manifest in men's consciences, and be a good savour to God, both in life and doctrine: that your conversations, as well as your words, may preach Truth,

* This Epistle seems to be specially addressed to Ministers, and those filling the responsible station of overseers of the flock: the duties subsequently assigned to *Elders*, probably devolved at this time, on the faithful perhaps in both the stations above mentioned, but more especially on overseers.

and shine in your sobriety and holy examples; and so be instrumental in His hands for the conversion, salvation, comfort, and establishment of others. And our earnest desire is, that you all may be so preserved, in diligence and subjection to the power of an endless life, as that none may run on too hastily or forwardly in any exaltation of spirit, away from the sense of the arising of the pure life and testimony: nor yet any to quench its arising, motions, or testimony, through fear, negligence, doubtings, secret dispute, or backwardness: but that every one may dwell in that living sense, willingness and diligence, as tends to your enlargement and growth, and to the increase of your gifts and measures in the life. And that every one who ministers, may be kept in the lowness, in subjection and tenderness of spirit to the Lord and his counsel; so that a clear and heavenly understanding may be opened and increased in them, and so in true meekness and humility retained, as that in the Spirit of the gospel, they may be enabled gradually to demonstrate the Truth, to the opening the understandings, and for the conviction of the consciences of the hearers; before either they pass positive judgment upon Truth's adversaries, or their principles. Also, that the first principles of the true light, repentance, and remission of sins through the name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, be kept to, held forth, and preached to the world, for the preparing their hearts for God: and none suddenly to rush into, or strive out of God's counsel to speak of, the high mysteries of the gospel, nor cast pearls before swine. Neither hastily, or at first entrance, out of their own measures and attainments, to assert the highest doctrines, as that of perfection, or

height of attainments, before people's minds are prepared by the secret power of God for the first principles or beginnings; that they may not be stumbled, nor their minds biassed against Truth, by any hasty or untimely asserting matters beyond their measures and capacities,—that is, without a deliberate progress in the work and travail of the Gospel: and that Christ, his death, blood, and resurrection, be reverently spoken of, according to Scripture expressions.

That none be forward or hasty in traversing the ways and principles of professors; to propose objections, nor to make or raise more in preaching, than they clearly answer by the plain evidence of the Spirit; lest any lose their matter, entangle themselves, and leave the hearers more dark and doubtful than they found them. And we warn and charge all concerned, both in England, Scotland, and elsewhere, in the presence of the living God, to take heed of *coming too near* the disobedient hypocritical spirit of contentious professors, to gratify them with unsound words and nice distinctions; which tend to darken knowledge, and veil the simplicity of the gospel, and to pervert the holy Truth.

Again, when any one in speaking, comes to feel both strength of life and matter of ministry to be wanting, we advise such not to strive to bring forth and enforce words; but then to be still, and wait till life arise to bring forth its own testimony: for that is the way to be enlarged, and to be further accomplished in the work. And not to run over or beyond the living sense of the heavenly life, nor into vain repetitions, either in preaching or praying, through striving or eagerness of mind; but to keep

low and tender, in the true sense and feeling of the holy seed and divine power, which gives life and strength.

We desire and exhort all such as are young, and not thoroughly experienced in the service and work of the gospel, to keep in their own proper gifts, measures, and orders of the life; and out of all striving or straining beyond their line, to be heard or seen of men: and so to be kept clear, in the true sense and exercise of their own proper gifts, out of all mere imitations and formed habits, which are not to edification.

And every one so keep in the peaceable wisdom and life in your travails, out of all extremes and whirlings, which tend to draw out and unsettle people's minds. And avoid all imagined, unseasonable and untimely prophesyings; which tend not only to stir up persecution, but also to the begetting airy and uncertain expectations, and to the amusing and affrighting simple people from receiving the Truth: for this practice, God's wisdom neither leads to, nor justifies. And take heed of aggravating reflections and forward clashing at persons or people, with unseasonably and rashly using names of distinctions; which will be resented as reproachful to them, and not only stumble and prepossess their minds with prejudice, but also hinder their conviction: whereas our endeavours have been and are, to open men's understandings, and to convince their consciences, that they may repent.

Be careful and labour in the peaceable gospel, to settle, stay, and establish people's minds in the holy principle of life and light; that they may not be puffed up, nor run into hurryings, or confusion in their own wills; but that the living praises of God

may naturally break forth in his own life; [that they run not into] any singularity to admire or wander after any particular man or persons; for this tends to the hurt, both of themselves, and [of] some that labour amongst them, and hath been hurtful. Our labour and travail hath been and still is, to preach Christ, as servants for his sake, and to gather to Him, and not to ourselves; nor to seek popularity, applause, or praise of men, nor any self-interest; for if any do, they'll fall, and the power of God will work them under, and without repentance cast them out.

And speak not evil one of another, to the lessening one another's reputation, or testimonies for Truth; but be tender of one another's testimony, not to weaken it,—we exhort you in the name and power of God. As also, to let no strife, hard thoughts, nor jealousies, lodge in any of your minds one against another; but in brotherly love and tenderness, speak privately and gently one to another, to remove all offences, jealousies, and aggravations whatsoever. And be sure do not judge, nor reflect publicly, to the weakening or hindering the least gift, or testimony that is in any one for God and his Truth; but where there is a sincerity and a tenderness, and the least budding or breaking forth of life, or heavenly gift, let it be nourished, and encouraged, and those that are young, watched over and holpen, in the tender love of God. Let there be no harshness nor severity exercised, to the hurt or prejudice of any; but feel the life and spirit of the Lamb through and over all.

Secondly.—And you, our Friends and brethren, who have a care and oversight committed to you in

your several places and meetings, being set as pillars in the house of our God,—if any of you shall at any time come to see any weakness, want of wisdom, or miscarriage, either in doctrine or practice, by any who come abroad to labour or minister among you,—we tenderly request, and earnestly desire, that you would in brotherly love and tenderness, speak privately to them, for their good and preservation; that they, and the testimony they have for the Truth, may be preserved, and rightly improved; that none who have a call from God may be discouraged, nor any gift of God quenched. And so, all forbear public judgings and reflections upon such as have a gift given them, and a sincerity in their intentions; though for a time there may be a want of wisdom in some, in the management thereof, yet do not discourage and wholly crush them under, but help them in the love and counsel of God. And as much as in you is, stop all false, depraving, and hurtful reports, whisperings, tattles and backbitings; and set true judgment over all sowers of strife and discord, we beseech you, for the Truth's sake.

And we desire you would be exemplary in your families, and careful in the education of your children in the holy nurture and fear of the Lord; that thereby it may appear unto the world, that you are of the true seed of Abraham; of whom God testified, that He knew that he would command his children and household, that they should keep the way of the Lord.

And we beseech you for the Truth's sake, with the power of God stop all busy, discontented spirits, (if any appear among you,) from reflecting upon and meddling with the powers, or those in outward dominion,—and all fruitless discourses of

that tendence and nature; which, with that old discontented professor's spirit, (which is neither valiant in times of suffering, nor contented in times of liberty,) are to be shunned, rejected and reprov'd, whenever met withal: that all among us walk innocently and peaceably with a good conscience before all the world;—for that gives true boldness and confidence.

And all of us seriously to eye and mind the supreme Power and over-ruling Hand, which commands the seas, and stops the floods, and stills the winds and storms; and can restrain the remainder of men's wrath, and turn them like waters, as seemeth good in the sight of Him, the Lord our God:—to whose love, oversight, care and protection, we commit you all, with his whole family; desiring that his peace and unity may remain and increase in and among you, and the multiplying of all spiritual blessings and refreshments of life unto you all, who are of the same mind and spirit with us in that eternal truth, love and life;—wherein we dearly salute you all.

Our desire is, that copies of this be communicated to Friends and Brethren herein concerned. Your faithful brethren in the Lord,

George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, John Story, Thomas Salthouse, John Whitehead, John Graves, Robert Hodgson, James Parke, Jasper Batt, Thomas Robertson, John Crook, William Gibson, Stephen Crisp, William Smith, James Harrison, Thomas Green, Thomas Curtis, William Brend, Samuel Thornton, William Yardley.

London the 31st day of the 3rd month, 1672.

[From an ancient copy, apparently in Thomas Ellwood's hand-writing, on comparison with his original letters.]

No. CXVII.

EPISTLE FROM FRIENDS MET IN LONDON, THE
26TH OF THIRD MONTH, 1673.

DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

THE Lord our God having by his eternal power, raised up and preserved many faithful and living witnesses of his blessed Truth until this day, both for the conversion of many from darkness to light, and for their building up, establishment, and comfort therein, by his own living eternal word of life and reconciliation; and having also signally blessed this precious opportunity of our assembling together with His glorious presence, power and majesty manifest among us, which many were and are eye-witnesses of; and in the unspeakable sense thereof many have been as melted, and their hearts exceedingly broken, and their souls overcome, and deeply affected with God's unspeakable goodness and power, love and life, so plentifully shed abroad among us and in our hearts:—in the sense whereof our hearts are open and affected towards you all, even in the same dear and tender love and life that is abundantly shed forth unto us; and from which our salutation is to all our dear Friends, brethren, and sisters, in this and other nations.

Having the general state of the churches and people of God opened unto us, with a tender care upon our hearts, and breathing of our souls, that they all may grow, prosper, and be preserved, in unity, grace, and good order: that divine life and virtue may reign, and abundantly flow over and through all, to your replenishment and unspeakable comfort; that

you may keep out the enemy in all his appearances, that would make divisions and disturbances in the churches :—for at this time the enemy is busy, and secretly at work for that end, to make rents; endeavouring thereby to bring the open opposers and adversaries of Truth over us. It is, that strife and divisions may be stirred up among ourselves, that they desire and watch for; and therefore, where any are instruments thereof, they serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but the enemy: they that make divisions and cause offences contrary to the gospel, and that seek to sow discord among brethren, are not only to be marked, but the Lord will make them manifest; and his power will bring them under, and debase them, as it hath done and will do that spirit, which is guilty of jealousies, evil surmisings, whisperings, and hard speeches against the brethren, and faithful labourers in the Lord's work. It is the accuser of the brethren that strikes at their testimony, and seeks to undermine and to beget a disesteem and slight of them in it; which adversary must be watched against, and for ever cast down and out. And we are assured from the Lord, that all sowers of discord, accusers of the faithful brethren, slighers and undervaluers of their testimony and gifts, self-seekers, whisperers, backbiters, and all self-willed and self-exalted spirits, God will debase; His eternal power will work them under, and all that which offends shall be removed. God's pure power is at work—refining, thoroughly purging his floor, and sanctifying his church and people; that there may be no rent or schism, but that the Lord may be one, and his name one, among us: and blessed are you that keep to your first love, and retain your integrity to the end.

O ! dear Friends and brethren, watch in the light against all the enemy's wiles ; and pray for the peace of Jerusalem, that she may be seen in her beauty and splendour, as a city without breaches ; that peace may remain in her walls, and prosperity within her palaces. O ! let it be the general care of all our brethren, to whom the Lord hath committed an oversight in the churches, to keep things quiet and in good order, by the power and wisdom of God ; who is not the author of confusion, but of peace :—and that the public affairs of Truth be managed and carried on in the same power and wisdom, which is pure and serviceable ; that all in humility may submit to Christ's rule and government, in the spirit of meekness and condescension. Keep out all roughness and harshness one towards another, and all self-rule and dominion, that is not of the life, but in the will of the flesh ; and let all that, be kept down for ever,—and that no strange fire be kindled among you, nor in your meetings. And elders and overseers must not be self-willed, nor soon angry, nor given to haste or passion, nor [to] any shortness or brittleness ; for such keep not in a sound mind, nor in the discerning either of true judgment or mercy,—which are both to be exercised among you, as the spirit of life opens to you the conditions and states to which they properly belong. For as all looseness, disorderly walking, and scandalous conversation and practices, must be severely reprov'd and judg'd out, especially among them that are convinced of the precious Truth,—and the guilty to bear their judgment and burthen ; so likewise mercy and forgiveness must be extended to such, as having been overtaken with a fault, come to feel a true tenderness in their hearts

through judgment—and to receive counsel, that they may be preserved in fear and watchfulness. And let not judgments and testimonies against miscarriages and offences, be made more public than the miscarriages are,—to harden those that miscarry, and give the adversaries of Truth advantage to throw dirt upon Friends : but be careful and tender for the Truth and Friends in that matter ; and endeavour to save the souls even of those that are tempted and drawn aside. As also, that private differences which may happen among any Friends or brethren, be ended by some Friend, in the wisdom and counsel of God, with as much privacy as may be,—without troubling or disturbing the public meetings or churches with them, and without public reflections upon persons, where the difference or offence on either hand is not so notorious or publicly manifest, but best to be ended privately ;—both for the preservation of them who are concerned therein, and the prevention of such occasions as may either stumble the weak, cause confusion, or give the world occasion to reproach Friends and Truth. And Friends, we desire that all differences may be ended in the several counties where they do arise ; and that the honour of God, and peace of the Church, may be minded, both by those whose case is to be determined, and those who are to determine : and that none join with such a singular spirit as would lead him to be sole judge in his own cause, but in the restoring and healing spirit of Christ, both the offended and the offender, may for the Truth's sake submit to the power of God in his people, in those cities, places, or counties, with such Friends, as they with the parties concerned shall call to their assistance ; for they do and will

judge for God. And if any will not give up his matter to the judgment of Truth in his people, he doth but render himself and his cause suspicious, and that he wants the sense of the fellowship of the body : and as Friends keep in wisdom and patience concerning such, it will come over him, and be his burthen ; for the universal spirit of Truth, by which we are called and made a people, leads not into any such practice.

Dear Friends, let the authority of God's power, heavenly and peaceable wisdom, be eyed in all your assemblies ; that the government of Truth and righteousness may be exalted over all, that true judgment and mercy may have their place. And though a general care be not laid upon every member, touching the good order and government in the church's affairs, nor have many travailed therein, yet the Lord hath laid it more upon some, in whom he hath opened counsel for that end,—and particularly in our dear brother and God's faithful labourer, George Fox,—for the help of many : and God hath in his wisdom, afforded those helps and governments in the churches, which are not to be despised ; being in subjection to Christ the one head and law-giver, answering his witness in all. And so all necessary counsel, admonitions or testimonies, that have been given forth, and received in the universal spirit of life and unity, have their service for God, in subjection to his light and [in] subserviency thereto, and in order to answer the great rule and law of the Spirit of life, as proceeding from it. And they that are spiritual, will acknowledge those things spoken or written from this spirit, and for this end to be the requirings of the Lord. Many in divers places have received help and encouragement from Him,

through those helps and governments that He hath afforded in the church—the true and living body, which we are members of; in which as all keep their habitations, there is a sweetness and harmony of life, unity and subjection one to another, and a preserving one another in the Lord: yet every man in his own proper order,—for every member of the body is not an eye; and yet each member hath its proper place and service, and all in subjection to the one life, power, and head, which is Christ. And it hath been observed by us, that that spirit which despiseth governments and dominion, and speaks evil of dignities, is either a singular, or a self-righteous, self-separating spirit, that would itself bear rule, and be judge over all,—which also seeks to stumble and darken the simple; or a loose, disobedient, careless spirit, that would not be reformed, but live at ease in the flesh and fleshly liberty; which the power of God will rebuke. But though He hath given us dominion over that spirit and its perverse ways, which oppose His power, and would work division, and lead into a corrupt liberty; yet it is no dominion over your faith that we seek;—but that we may be helpers of your joy in the Lord, and you as diligent co-workers together in the faith and love of God; wherein we all may be a mutual comfort, joy, and crown of rejoicing, one to another,—as having one master, and we all brethren in Him, who is the Lord of the household, and God of glory,—whose glorious presence is with us. And it is a wrong spirit, that would surmise or insinuate jealousies, or beget prejudice against the faithful labourers in the gospel, and helpers in government;—to misrepresent such, as aiming at any other ends and interests, than Christ's interest and government over all; which [than] God is

our record, we are clear from seeking or aiming at any other. And in His authority and power, we stand witnesses against that spirit for ever, both in our open and secret enemies, which either smites at our heavenly society, or would break our unity.

To the Prince of peace, who is our head and law-giver,—unto whom thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers are subject,—be glory for evermore! unto whose power and government we commit you all, and, in true endeared love, rest

Your dear Brethren,

Thomas Green, Alex. Parker, William Brend, William Gibson, Morgan Watkins, John Graves, Samuel Thornton, John Whitehead, Jasper Batt, John Anderdon, Thomas Salthouse, Samuel Watson, John Langstaff, James Adamson, John Cox, James Merrick, John Bowldren, John Raunce, George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, William Penn, Thomas Briggs, John Moone, Charles Marshall, Luke Howard, Samuel Cater, Arthur Ismead, James Hall, George Coale, Robert Barclay, Edward Bourne, Charles Lloyd, James Claypoole, Richard Almond, William Fallowfield, Robert Cary.

We desire that true copies hereof may be communicated to, and read in the several Quarterly, Monthly, and other meetings of Friends and Brethren, throughout England and elsewhere.

[*This Epistle is (by a careful comparison with Thomas Ellwood's hand-writing) taken from a copy believed to be written by him.*]

No. CXVIII.

AN EPISTLE FROM THE WOMEN FRIENDS IN LONDON TO THE WOMEN FRIENDS IN THE COUNTRY, ALSO ELSEWHERE, ABOUT THE SERVICE OF A WOMEN'S MEETING. (1674.)

DEAR Friends and Sisters in the eternal relation of one God and Father, we with one heart greet you ; and in the blessed love and life in his Son Christ Jesus our Saviour, (as in our measures we partake of,)—we in all sincerity of mind salute you ; who are heirs with us of the same fulness of grace, mercy, truth, and holiness, by which the Lord alone is acceptably served and magnified ; who over all is worthy :—and in holy reverence and fear, be at this time ascribed all dominion, power, and strength, and obedience, to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever more. Amen !

And again, dear Sisters, we salute you, as called of God to partake with us of the heavenly inheritance of the saints in light, and to be fellow-helpers with us in the blessed work of the Lord, and [in] the dispensation of kindness and good will in love and mercy unto all,—according to our proportion of faith in the heavenly manifestation of that power and eternal life, which is in his Son :—by which we have been gathered, not only to the number of God's elect ones, through obedience to His Spirit ; but also by his arm of power we were gathered to be a meeting, to the praise of his grace, distinct (as we may say in some respects,) yet in perfect unity with our brethren. We being in that humility and subjection of spirit to the

Lord, and therein preferring them [our brethren,] [it] shuts out all usurpation and the spirit of it; so that we in a sincere mind, are workers together with them in the same faith; only distinct as to the place, and in those particular things which most properly appertain to us as women;—still eyeing the universal Head, in whom male and female are one; where no division can be admitted of;—so that the body is held entire in Christ Jesus our Head. We, as members by virtue of this our Head, do reach forth this unto you; we having been as a kind of first-fruits unto God, in this service of a women's meeting.

Dear Sisters, we are stirred in spirit, through the love of God, for your information and encouragement as to what our services are, and to stir up you also unto diligence to yours; knowing how the Lord hath been with us therein from the beginning to this moment; with His power assisting, and instructing with His counsel, and with wisdom furnishing us, as our various services have required, continually to our soul's satisfaction,—and confirmation in our daily travail. [These services] have been and are;—to visit the sick and the prisoners that suffer for the testimony of Jesus; to see they are supplied with things needful;—and relieving the poor, making provision for the needy, aged, and weak, that are incapable of work;—a due consideration for the widows, and care taken of the fatherless children and poor orphans, (according to their capacities) for their education and bringing up in good nurture and in the fear of the Lord; and putting them out to trades in the wholesome order of the creation. Also, the elder women exhorting the younger, in all sobriety, modesty in

apparel, and subjection to Truth: and if any should be led aside by the temptations of Satan any way, endeavouring to reclaim such;—and to stop tatlers and false reports, and all such things as tend to division amongst us; following those things which make for peace, reconciliation, and union. Also admonishing such maids and widows as may be in danger through the snare of the enemy, either to marry with unbelievers, or to go to the priest to be married or otherwise, [and so] to bring a reproach or scandal upon Truth or Friends. And that maid servants that profess Truth and want places, be orderly disposed of and settled in their services: and likewise, that the savoury life and good order of Truth, be minded between mistresses and their maids.

For these things, we have a care upon us; and that we may answer our duty herein, we meet every Second day, to communicate each to the other, from our several places, the several necessities and other services; that none may stand idle, but every one, as a true member in the true order of the church, may in their places be diligent: for our services still increase many ways; but chiefly our work is, to help the helpless in all cases, according to our abilities.

Although more especially our provision is set apart for the supply of the household of faith and family of God, yet we cannot be limited: but as the universal bounty of the Lord maketh his sun to rise on the good and bad, and sendeth rain on the just and unjust; so the same bounty, according to its measure in us, oftentimes finds the same object of charity, which cannot (as we find freedom) send empty away. But as on the Lord we wait, and our

eye is single unto Him, from whom we daily receive our living supply for these our services,—the Lord hath been and is with us, as oft as we meet together,—answering abundantly with what his work calleth for. And his arm of power is over us, which at first gathered us; and in it, is our preservation to this day :—to which power we commend you, dear sisters;—and the Lord of all grace, power, and peace, be with you and us, in all our services, to his glory and dominion, whose right it alone is to reign in righteousness for ever. Farewell.

From our Quarterly Meeting.

[*Signed by very many women Friends, amongst whom are, Ann Travers, Ruth Crouch, Ann Whitehead, Patience Camfield, &c.*]

London, the 4th of 11th month 1674.

No. CXIX.

[THE following document, copied from (probably) a circular in Ellis Hooke's handwriting, relates to the first establishment of the Meeting for Sufferings in London: it gives the names of the London and Country correspondents, with the regulations agreed upon for the constitution and regulation of the said meeting. This document does not appear recorded in the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings.]

THE names of the persons appointed to meet upon the account of Friends' sufferings, also the

names of the persons in the country, to whom they are to send, upon any occasion about sufferings.

*In Town.**In Country.*

Bedfordshire and Northampton.

John Staples.	{	Edward Chester, of Dunstable,
Frances Camfield.		for Bedford.
		Daniel Wills, physician, in
		Northampton.

Berkshire and Bucks.

John Osgood.	{	Benj. Cole, in Reading.
Thos. Zachary.		Thomas Ellwood.

Cornwall and Devonshire.

Thos. Taunton.	{	Lawrence Growden, at St.
Gilbert Latie.		Austle, so called.
Edwd. Brookes,		Arthur Cotton, merchant, in
		Plymouth.

Hampshire and Surrey.

Ellis Hookes.	{	George Embree, at Southamp-
Wm. Mackett.		ton.
		John Cooper, at Guildford.

Sussex and Kent.

Wm. Welch.	{	Luke Howard, shoemaker, in
James Braines.		Dover.
Walter Miers.		

Essex and Suffolk.

Richd. Whityand.	{	Soln. Formantell, in Colchester.
Thos. Yoakley.		Robt. Duncan, tanner, near
Fras. Moore.		Mendlesham.

Norfolk and Cambridge.

Thos. Cox.	{	Samuel Duncon, hosier, in
Clem. Plumstead.		Norwich.
		Wm. Brasier, shoemaker, in
		Cambridge.

Ely and Lincolnshire.

George Watts.	{	Samuel Cater.
Wm. Parker.		Wm. Garland, at Gainsborough.

Yorkshire.

Thos. Hart.	{	John Hall, near Mongsgate, in
Ralph Rudyard.		York.

*In Town.**In Country.*

Durham and Northumberland.

Thos. Rudyard.	{	John Ayrey, soapboiler, in Newcastle, for both these counties.
Wm. Meade.		

Cumberland and Westmorland.

Wm. Loathwaite.	{	James Collinson, at Penwrith, shopkeeper. Bryan Lancaster, at Kendal, tanner.
Francis Dow.		

Lancashire and Cheshire.

John West.	{	Thos. Green, shopkeeper, in Lancaster. Edwd. Morgan, shoemaker, in Chester.
Thomas Matthews.		

Staffordshire and Derbyshire.

James Claypoole.	{	Wm. Fallowfield, at Leek. Wm. Storrs, at Chesterfield, shopkeeper.
Thos. Rudyard.		

Leicestershire, Nottingham, Rutland.

John Elson.	{	Samuel Wilson, baker, in Lei- cester. John Reekless, Shopkeeper, in Nottingham.
Arthur Cooke.		
Richd. Mew.		
Thos. Robertson.		

Worcester and Gloucestershire.

Gerrard Roberts.	{	Edward Bourne, physician, in Worcester.
Ezekiel Wooley.		

Herefordshire and Shropshire.

Phillip Ford.	{	James Merrick, at Ross. Constantin Overton, at Shrews- bury.
John Dew.		

Warwick and Oxfordshire.

Fras. Bellers.	{	John Murdock, baker, in Co- ventry. Silas Norton, maulster, in Ox- ford.
Wm. Crouch.		
Hugh Lamb.		

Hunts and Hertfordshire.

Job Bolton.	{	Richard Jobson, fellmonger, in Huntington. Hen. Stout, maulster, in Hart- ford.
Wm. Ingram.		

<i>In Town.</i>	<i>In Country.</i>
Arthur Cooke, Ellis Hookes.	Wiltshire. { Thos. Neat, at Chipenham.
	London and Middlesex.
Thos. Cooper. Wm. Meade. Joseph Scott. John Kimble.	{
	Bristol.
James Claypoole. Ezekiel Wooley.	{ Thos. Gouldney, grocer, in Bristol.
	North Wales.
Willm. Goswell. Edward Man. Potter Evans.	{ Richard Davis, hatmaker, in Welchpoole.
	South Wales.
Benj. Antrobus. Wm. Poacher.	{
	Ireland.
Sam. Newton. James Claypoole. Willm. Penn.	{ Samuel Clarredge, merchant, in Dublin.
	Scotland.
Wm. Welch. Jon. Swinton. Gowen Lawrey.	{
	Barbados.
Thomas Hart. Gerrard Roberts.	{
	New England, New York.
William Meade. Joseph Scott.	{
	Virginia and Maryland.
Samuel Groom. Fras. Camfield. Jas. Braines.	{
	Nevis and the Leward Islands.
John Goodwin. Hugh Hartshorn.	{

<i>In Town.</i>	<i>In Country.</i>
Edward Brush.	Jamaica.
William Crouch.	{
	Holland.
Wm Crouch.	{
Wm. Welch.	

At a meeting of aforesaid Friends and others, assembled upon the account of Sufferings, held at James Claypoole's, the 12th day of the 4th mo. 1676.

Agreed as followeth :

1.—That the whole Friends appointed for the Meeting of Sufferings, do all meet the Fifth day next preceding every term.

2.—That one-fourth part of the Friends of this meeting, be nominated and appointed to meet weekly, every Fifth day, at or before the 11th hour in the forenoon, as a weekly Meeting for Sufferings ; leaving a liberty to any other faithful Friend concerned to meet with them : which said Friends so appointed, are to continue as the Meeting for Sufferings, until the Fifth day next before the next ensuing term ; and then a new choice to be made,—one other fourth part of the Friends appointed for Sufferings, to attend the next ensuing quarter, weekly as aforesaid ; and so for every Fifth day next preceding each term, a new choice and appointment of other Friends, to attend the service of Sufferings as aforesaid.

The names of the Friends appointed for the present immediate service, to continue till the General Meeting for Sufferings, appointed to meet the Fifth day next before next term.

Westminster. { Gilbert Latie.
Fras. Dow.

Wheeler Street.	{ Fras. Moore. Fras. Bellers.
Ratcliffe.	{ Arthur Cooke. James Braines.
Southwark.	{ Wm. Sherven. Hen. Snok.
Peele.	{ Wm. Parker. John Elson.
London.	{ John Osgood. Thos. Rudyard.
Foreign Parts.	{ Thomas Hart and Joseph Scott.

3.—That if any of the said fourteen Friends now nominated, (or others to be hereafter nominated and appointed for this service,) by reason of any urgency of occasions or business, cannot attend at any respective meeting as aforesaid, that then such respective member, send (if they can) a note to that meeting, informing the meeting of their not being able to be there that day.

4.—That Ellis Hookes, as well forthwith as from time to time hereafter, send down into the several counties of England and Wales, unto the Friends there appointed to correspond, as well the agreements now made and to be made for the settling of this meeting, as also the names of such persons here with whom they are now, or for the future, from time to time to correspond; that the country Friends may henceforward understand Friends' care and order therein, and direct their letters to the persons here appointed accordingly.

5.—That only the present sufferings, wherein the Friends in the counties expect some relief or redress, be sent to the Friends of London before nominated to assist the Friends in the country;

and that such sufferings as are collected and intended to be recorded, be as formerly sent to Ellis Hookes.

6.—That a list or copy of all the Friends here of the Meeting of Sufferings, and the names and habitations of all the country correspondents now appointed, or to be appointed, be now and from time to time, with the agreements of this meeting, delivered to each member of this meeting, or at least to one of the two Friends respectively appointed, or to be appointed here for each county; that so each member thereof may know their respective service.

7.—That when any Friends appointed here to correspond with the respective counties, receive any letters from their respective counties, that they take due care to send them expeditious answers to such questions, or other matters, or things proposed to them, or for which the country Friends desire their assistance in advice or otherwise; and also give them speedy answers whether their respective cases and sufferings, can have relief here or elsewhere, or not; so that our country Friends may not lie under a tedious and fruitless expectation, without our resolution, in cases of difficulty, distress, and suffering.

8.—That a convenient room be allowed and taken, for the Friends now and hereafter appointed, to meet weekly in, as aforesaid, in such convenient place, as Gerrard Roberts, Wm. Welch, and John Osgood shall allow and approve of; and that until such convenient room can be had and taken, that the meeting be held and kept weekly, at Job Bolton's, in Lumber Street.

9.—That country Friends be reminded of what formerly was signified unto them, where the cir-

cumstances of time will admit, to lay their sufferings and cases before Friends in their Monthly or Quarterly Meetings, or two or more faithful Friends of that county; to the end their cases and sufferings may be sent up, or recommended, with the meeting's or particular Friend's testimonial and approbation.

10.—That if any matter or thing happen in the interval of Monthly or Quarterly Meetings, that then they lay the said sufferings before two or more faithful Friends of the county as aforesaid, appointed by the Monthly or Quarterly Meetings for that purpose; and the names of such Friends to be sent up to Friends here.

11.—And further, that Friends be careful to draw up their sufferings full and short, according to former directions; it being the intention of Friends here, once a month, to publish in print half a sheet or a sheet, of the most remarkable and grievous sufferings; to the end cruelty may not be acted in a corner, and not be known.

No. CXX.

[The following document has been found in the catalogue of George Fox's writings, (mentioned at page 311,) it is inserted under the year 1690:—in several respects it is a remarkable document.]

ALL Friends in all the world, that used to write to me of all manner of things and *passages*, and I did

answer them,—let them all write to the Second day's Meeting in London, directing them first to their correspondents there; and the Second day's Meeting in London, for them to answer them in the wisdom of God: and let a copy of this be sent to all places in the world among Friends, that they may know and understand this.

And for the Yearly Meeting in London, to answer all the yearly and half-yearly letters or papers that come once a year to the Yearly Meeting in London; and they to see that all be carefully read, and answered in the Truth and in righteousness, to the glory of God, and to the comfort and refreshment of His people,

George Fox.

[*From a copy.*]

LETTERS, &c.
OF
EARLY FRIENDS.

PART III.
EPISTLES
OF COUNSEL AND EXHORTATION.

No. CXXI.

RICHARD FARNSWORTH TO FRIENDS.

*From Balby, December (or 10th mo.) 2nd,
[12th month] 1652.*

ALL Friends in the Truth of God, be faithful in what you know ; and wait upon the Lord for the making out of himself to you. Neglect not meeting together, and stirring up that which is pure one in another. Live not in words, but mind the power of words : for words that proceed out of a vain, light mind, destroy the simple, and draw your minds out above the cross, to live in words ;—and ye will form something in your minds to rest in, and so the fleshly mind will be kept alive:—but keep in the cross. The power is the cross to the carnal part in all ; and words that come from the life will go to the life, and raise up that which is pure in one another ; and so you will have unity with that which is pure

in one another. And being guided by the pure light in you, it will cross that which would be forming any thing in you ; and standing in the counsel of the Lord, it will cross and crucify that which would consult with human wisdom and reason. So you will be brought into a discerning, to savour truth from error, both in yourselves, and also in one another,—and to savour every one's words from what centre they do arise. By standing in the counsel of the Lord, and keeping in the cross, the old man will be brought to judgment daily ; and that which is earthly, carnal, and brutish, will be cut down in you ; and so there will be a way made for the pure seed to be raised up in you, that the Lord alone may be glorified by every one of you.

Take heed of sitting down to rest in any gift ; but press forward in the strait way, and lay aside every weight and burden. Cast off that which presseth down, and let patience possess your souls ; endure to the end the working out of the corrupt nature, and wait for the purification of the Lord, who will try you so as by fire. Think it not strange concerning the fiery trial [by which] the Lord will try you and prove you ; the trial of your faith will be much more precious than of gold that perisheth.

Farewell, dear Friends ; and the God of love and power keep you all in the power of his love, and in the power of his Truth, in faithfulness to Him alone,—that He may be glorified ; to whom all honour and glory and dominion, praise and thanks belong, for ever and ever ! Amen.

Yours in the unity of the Spirit,

Richard Farnsworth.

[*From the Original, apparently.*]

No. CXXII.

[THE following valuable letter is the more interesting, as having been addressed at that early period to Margaret Fell (who became so conspicuous, as a nursing mother in the church,) within about six months after George Fox's first visit at Swarthmore; when she, her children, and a great part of her servants became convinced.]

RICHARD FARNSWORTH TO MARGARET FELL.

Balbie, [Yorkshire] December 12th,
[12th mo.] 1652.

DEAR SISTER,

——Mind to stand in the counsel of the Lord, which will keep down every thing that would be exalted; —— and will not suffer thee to conform to any thing but that which is pure.——O! be faithful, be faithful, in what thou knowest; and stand perfect in the will of the Lord: and the Lord will keep thee in his own power to Himself, and arm thee every way with his love and power.—Stand in his counsel, and it will discover all the consultations of the enemy; and [will] scatter all imaginations, and will not suffer them to take place in thee, being but obedient to Him. Love not the world, but mind that which would draw thee to live in the pure obedience of Him who is pure: and standing in the pure fear, it will take away all slavish fears, and it will not suffer

thee to conform to the world in anything ; but thou wilt be preserved in obedience to the Lord, in what he doth require : for the fear of the Lord keepeth the heart clean ; and it will keep thee clean, and open to receive the teachings of the Father. O ! stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath set thee free, and it will keep thee from the entanglements of the world ; and thy preservation will be, in standing in the counsel of the Lord, who is the mighty counsellor, the everlasting Prince of peace ; who will lead thee and guide thee into the everlasting kingdom of the Father, where there is peace and joy, rest, quietness and assurance for ever ! — Give thyself up wholly to the Lord, who will preserve thee in faithfulness and purity ;—and the everlasting Lord God Almighty keep thee and all the rest of our dear Friends, in the power of his love, and in the power of his Truth, perfect in his will ; that ye may grow from strength to strength, and be established in the everlasting Truth :—and that He alone may be glorified, who is Lord of lords, and King of kings ; to whom be glory and honour, and praise, and thanks, for ever and ever ! Amen.

I received thy letter, which did much rejoice me.—When thy letter, with James and George, came, I was then gone towards Derbyshire—where I met with a gathered church.—I have been in much service since I came from you : Friends are much emboldened and courageous, who have had great opposition and persecution here away : but all is at a stand ; the enemy is much in silence ; and the Lord carries on his own work, much to his own praise : to Him alone be glory, and honour, for ever and ever !

— My dear love in the Lord presents itself to you all, to thy son George, and to thy daughters, and to all those thy servants, in the Truth of God : and the Lord cause them all to grow up into the Truth, that He may be exalted amongst you all. Ah ! my dear hearts, prize the love and mercy of the Lord, and daily mind your growth into that which is eternal : and the everlasting love and power of the Lord keep you all in faithfulness to Him in what you know. Keep in the cross, and purity will grow ;—the safest way is in the cross : take up the cross daily ; mind to be guided by that which crosseth your own wills, and it will bring every idle word, thought and deed to judgment in you ; and so the old man will be crucified, with the affections and lusts thereof ; and you shall find the Lord to sit as a refiner, to judge out all the old leaven, the old nature,—and so the new man will be raised up ;—and Christ the power of God [will] rule and reign in righteousness in you, who is the King of saints : to Him alone be all praise and thanks for evermore ! Amen.

R. F.

[*From the Original apparently.*]

No. CXXIII.

RICHARD FARNSWORTH TO FRIENDS.

Warmsworth, 18th of 7th Month, [9th mo.] 1657.

DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD!

ALL be watchful and faithful against the enemy and adversary of your souls; that you may stand, when you are tried. The Lord will try you, like gold seven times purified; and as you have had experience of God's love to you, and care over you, when formerly you have been proved,—know assuredly that He is the same;—and mind that you be so to Him, still loving and faithful to Him and his Truth, all you that in any measure have borne testimony to his name. Take heed of coldness, deadness, and formality, that it get not entertainment amongst you; lest thereby the enemy beguile you, and you lose your reward. Therefore mind the movings and stirrings of that of God in you; that ye may move and stir in it in the behalf of His name.

Stand not to consult with the wicked one; but keep close, in the spirit of your minds, to the measure of the light and Spirit of God manifested in you, rightly to inform and guide your understanding; that none of you may join with that which would draw you back, lest the Lord's soul cease to delight in you. For so long as ye do well, ye are the children of Abraham the father of the faithful: but if any of you depart into the evil, he owns you not then, no more than Christ did such, as said they were of Abraham whilst they were evil doers;—who also told them, that if they

were of Abraham, they would do the works of Abraham; but they did not his works, and therefore they were known to be none of the true faithful Abrahamites.—Take heed that none of you give Him just cause to depart from you, and leave you to yourselves. He can and doth wait to be gracious, and is ready to do good, to those that truly and constantly wait and attend upon him. Such are ever ready to speak well of Him, to the praise of His name: but the disobedient, obstinate, slothful, and careless, they judge hardly of Him. Take heed that none such be amongst you; for they will, upon trials, be ready to join with the enemy, and start aside to the rejoicing of the wicked, and to the dishonour of the seed; though they may profess the Truth for a time.

Take heed of watching with an evil eye, and for seeking occasion one against another to break the true unity. Such break their soul's peace, and their troubles will increase upon them: but they that watch one over another, in the fear of the Lord, for good to edification, and to mind the increase of love and preservation of the true unity, their peace and joy in the Lord will increase, and they are, and shall for ever be, blessed.

R. F——.

No. CXXIV.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO FRIENDS.

*Given forth the 14th of 11th mo. 1659,
[1st mo. 1660.]*

To all who are lovers of, and believers in, the true

light,—grace, mercy, and everlasting peace be multiplied amongst you.

Dear and precious souls, the infinite wise God, who is pure for ever, is just and equal in all his ways; who loves truth and delights therein; who is strong and mighty to deliver, and able to save from sin and Satan, from bondage and corruption, all who come unto him, and wait upon him in truth, in meekness and sincerity of heart. He is the God of the spirits of all flesh, who gives life and breath unto all; who made the world and all things therein, by his power, and by his word, (which is powerful;) He upholds all things at this day and time. He is the same to-day as ever, in power and majesty; his arm is not shortened that it cannot save, nor his eye closed that it cannot see, neither is his mouth shut that it cannot speak; but he lives, and works, and speaks, and sees, and discerns what is contrived and acted amongst the sons and daughters of men. His living Word abides for ever, and is as quick and as lively as ever,—as powerful and sharp for the cutting down of sin and corruption, as it ever was in the days of old and ages past, according to the testimony of the holy men of God, recorded in the Scriptures of truth.—

Dearly beloved, it hath pleased our gracious almighty God to appear in these last times, according to his promise declared by his holy prophets concerning his great love, in pouring forth of his holy Spirit upon his people; and to gather them from off the barren mountains, and from the mouths of the wolves, and all false shepherds; that they might no longer be preyed upon, nor starved for want of bread: but the promise of God is, to feed them Himself in fresh and green pastures, and to bring them back into the fold of the good shepherd,—and

that there shall be one sheepfold and one shepherd. Dear hearts, both I and you, and all the rest of the sheep and lambs of Christ, may truly confess and say, that we all like sheep have gone astray; we were wandering upon the barren and dry mountains, and feeding upon the husks and empty shadows, even as well as others. But for ever-more blessed and praised be the Lord our God, who in a good and acceptable time did appear, and stretched forth his holy arm, and gathered us into the fold of the good shepherd; whereby we are refreshed with the favour and loving-kindness of the Lord. O! what manner of love is this, that even when we were enemies and rebels against God, yet his eye was over us for good; and he waited to be gracious unto us, (as he doth now unto the world,) not willing the death and destruction of any; but rather that all might turn unto him, and hearken unto his voice, that their souls might live.

Dear friends, as the Lord in his rich love hath visited you, and by his grace called you out of darkness into his marvellous light,—so, prize his love, and walk worthy of that high and heavenly calling, whereunto the Lord hath called you,—pleasing him in all things: waiting in the light, which is pure, which is of Christ, in you, that you may all receive wisdom and counsel from God; that whatsoever ye do, or take in hand, may be done to the glory and praise of Him that hath called you. Remember, and always keep in mind the goodness of the Lord, and let his word dwell and abide in you; lay it up in your hearts, as a precious holy treasure: so will ye be kept in a lively sensible state, apt and fit to receive instruction from the Lord. The living word seasons, and keeps the heart sweet and savoury, so

that corruption cannot grow there, neither any other evil, lust or bad thing; but by the word it is cut down, and destroyed. Blessed are they that keep the word of God in them; such shall be kept in peace and unity with God in the light; and there every one shall see the honourable calling, unto which they are called. He that calls, is holy and honourable; and the calling unto which ye are called, is likewise holy and honourable. Consider what ye are called from, and what ye are called unto: formerly ye walked in darkness, and had fellowship with the unfruitful workers of darkness; now ye are called out of darkness, to walk in the light,—and there to have communion one with another, and fellowship with God, who is light, and with his Son Jesus Christ;—who likewise declared himself to be the light of the world. In the light is the precious unity with God and with Christ, and one with another. If we walk in the light, (saith the beloved disciple,) as He is in the light, (then, not till then,) have we fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son, cleanseth us from all sin: they that love the light, and believe in the light, and walk in the light,—such receive remission of sins,—such worship God truly,—such are of one heart and of one mind,—such only are accepted of the Lord.

And now, dear souls, as you have been called to such a high and heavenly calling, mind every one your particular duties, in walking answerably to the Lord in everything; that good order may be kept amongst you, both in your meetings and solemn assemblies, in your service and worship of God, and also in your common occasions and affairs amongst men. Something is upon my spirit to

write unto you at this time, concerning these two weighty things; and, first, concerning the service and worship of God.—That which God requires of every one, is justice, mercy, and a humble and orderly conversation: for, as it is the love of God, by his light to show you his will and mind, so it is your duty, to do the will of God; which will is your sanctification: and, as it was the manner and practice of the holy men of God, (who were called in the light,) to meet together to wait upon God, and to speak one to another, as the Spirit of Truth did move and give them utterance, for the strengthening one another, and building up one another in their most holy faith;—so it is now judged meet and good for all who are called to be saints, to meet often together to wait upon the Lord,—that their strength may be renewed. So Friends, when you come together to wait upon God, come orderly in the fear of God: the first that enters into the place of your meeting, be not careless, nor wander up and down, either in body or mind; but innocently sit down in some place, and turn in thy mind to the light, and wait upon God singly, as if none were present but the Lord; and *here* thou art strong. Then the next that comes in, let them in simplicity of heart, sit down and turn in to the same light, and wait in the Spirit: and so all the rest coming in, in the fear of the Lord, sit down in pure stillness and silence of all flesh, and wait in the light; a few that are thus gathered by the arm of the Lord into the unity of the Spirit,—this is a sweet and precious meeting, where all meet with the Lord!—
Those who are brought to a pure, still waiting upon God in the Spirit, are come nearer to the

Lord than words are: for God is a Spirit, and in the Spirit is he worshipped; so that my soul hath dear union with you, who purely wait upon God in the Spirit, though not a word be spoken to the hearing of the outward ear. And here is the true feeding in the Spirit; and all who thus meet together to wait upon the Lord, shall renew their strength daily. In such a meeting, where the presence and power of God is felt, there will be an unwillingness to part asunder, being ready to say in yourselves, it is good to be here: and this is the end of all words and writings—to bring people to the eternal living Word. So, all dear hearts, when you come together to wait upon God, come singly and purely; that your meetings together may be for the better, and not for the worse.

And if any be moved to speak words, wait low in the pure fear, to know the mind of the Spirit, where and to whom they are to be spoken.—If any be moved to speak, see that they speak in the power; and when the power is still, be ye still.—And all who speak of the movings of the Lord, I lay it as a charge upon you, to beware of abusing the power of God, in acting a wrong thing under pretence of being moved of the Lord:—for the pure power may move, and then the enemy (who goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour,) he may present a wrong thing to the view of the understanding; and here is a danger of abusing the power, acting that which the true power condemns, and yet pretending that the power moves to it;—this is a double sin. Therefore, let every one patiently wait, and not be hasty to run in the dark; but keep low in the true fear, that the understanding may be opened to know the mind of

the Spirit ; and then as the Spirit moves and leads, it is good to follow its leadings ;—for such are led into all truth. Thus, my Friends, as you keep close to the Lord, and to the guidance of his good Spirit, ye shall not do amiss ; but in all your services and performances in the worship of God, ye shall be a good savour unto the Lord ; and the Lord will accept of your services, and bless and honour your assemblies with his presence and power.

And now for the ordering of your conversations amongst men, ye are to walk by the same rule ; (that is,)—when your meeting is ended, do not look upon the service of God to be ended ; but keep in the fear of God, that ye may receive wisdom from Him, to order the creatures ; that the pure light may exercise your consciences towards God and men. A time there was at your first convictionment, when ye stood in the cross to the world's spirit, and could not conform to their customs, many of them have stood off for a certain time, and would not trade or deal with Friends : but when they saw your fidelity and honesty, they came again ; and many have a greater desire to deal with Friends, than with many of their own generation, because they know that ye will not wrong them, nor deal deceitfully with them : and so the blessing of God attends the faithful, and gives an increase both inward and outward. Then is the danger of being lifted up in mind, or drawn back again into the earth, so that the earth comes over, which chokes and hinders the growth of the seed : but as every one keeps in the dominion and power of God, then the blessing is continued, as love to the Truth is continued. Thus, dear Friends, in all companies, at all times and seasons, so walk that

ye may be examples of good unto all, and answer the witness of God in all ; that God over all may be glorified, and ye by his power be daily kept and preserved in holiness and righteousness, out of the world's wickedness ; not for a day, or a week, or a certain time only, but even all the days of your lives ; for this is but just and reasonable, that we should yield our members servants unto God, who gives us life, and strength, and all other good things : glory and holy praises be rendered unto Him, of all that know Him, for ever more !

And furthermore, dear Friends, as concerning those late overturnings, and those distractions, divisions, and confusions in this our native nation,—be not ye troubled nor shaken in mind because of these things. There is a secret hand working in and through all these overturnings ; and they come not to pass without the knowledge of the Lord, for making way for greater things, which the Lord hath to bring to pass in this nation ; for much is yet to be thrown down, before truth and righteousness be set up. My advice and counsel is, that every one of you, who love and believe in the light, be still and quiet, and side not with any parties ; but own and cherish the good wherever it appears, and testify against the evil in all, wherever it appears ; not like the children of this world, warring with carnal weapons against flesh and blood, to destroy men's lives ; but like Christians with spiritual weapons, warring against spiritual wickedness, and all sinful fleshly lusts, which war against the soul : not striking at creatures, but at the power that captivates the creatures ; that so the creatures may be redeemed from the bondage of corruption, into the

glorious liberty of the sons of God. So be not ye overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good; so shall ye have peace with God, and true unity with all who are of God.

The God of power strengthen you in every good word and work, and perfect his work in you, to his glory, who is blessed for ever! Amen.

I rest your dear brother in the Truth, watching for all your good,

Alexander Parker.

[From the Original.]

No. CXXV.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO FRIENDS.

*Given forth in the prison at Chester, the
13th of 8th month [10th mo.] 1660.*

To all you, my beloved and dear Friends, who are called in Christ Jesus, the light of the world, out of the ways and works of darkness, to follow the Lord Jesus Christ in truth and righteousness, which way soever He goes, through trials and troubles, tribulations and persecutions, as he leads and guides by his light and Spirit:—Grace, mercy, and peace, patience and heavenly wisdom, with all other graces and virtues appertaining unto life and godliness, from God the Father of spirits, and Jesus Christ the light and life of men, be increased and daily multiplied amongst you.

I, your dear brother and companion in tribulation,

who am a prisoner for the testimony of Jesus, do hereby greet you all, who love and own the appearance of Christ in Spirit. I do send these lines unto you as the tender of my love, and the dear salutation of my life unto you all, my dear brethren and sisters; who are born again of the immortal seed and word of God, which lives and abides for ever. My life is bound up with you, in the holy love and blessed covenant, which cannot be broken; and though this earthen vessel be shut up and kept under locks and chains, from the fellowship and communion of my Father's children and family, yet the treasure—the heavenly riches of love, life and power, which my heavenly Father hath put into this earthen vessel, cannot be locked up by the powers of this world, neither can it be stopped; but it flows forth—according to the promise of the Lord of life, who hath said, “Whoso shall drink of the water that I shall give, it shall be in him a well of water, springing up unto everlasting life.” From this well, do streams of love flow forth, even to my very enemies and persecutors; desiring also that their souls might live. But much more do my love and breathings of life reach forth unto you, the dearly beloved of my soul, who are of the same family and household of faith; to every one in the family, as well the servants and the handmaids, as the sons and daughters, my dear love salutes you all,—even the doorkeepers, and all that appertain to the house of God. I have you all fresh in my remembrance, and am often present in Spirit with you.

Dear hearts, in brotherly love and heavenly fear, I do exhort you all, as dear children, to walk together in truth and love; exhorting one another,

and building up one another in the holy faith, which works by love ;—that ye may be a family of love : for true love is a mark whereby ye are known to be children born from above, as Christ formerly said, “ Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another ; ”—this is the end and the sum and substance of all that can be spoken or written. Love fulfils the law,—it envies not, it thinks no evil ; love doth not render evil for evil, but on the contrary, love renders good for evil : love keeps the commandments of God ; and if love be wanting, all preaching, praying, and all other duties and performances whatsoever, all are in vain : and the services and sacrifices of such are not acceptable unto God, being ignorant of God ; for he that loves not, knows not God, for God is love. Love is a precious jewel, not to be valued with gold, nor any other earthly treasure ; and where love dwells, there needs few instructions ; for love performs all things freely without compulsion : blessed are they who have the love of God dwelling in them. But this is an high discovery, to know God as he is love ; it is the last, and abides for ever. Wait, dear ones, that you may attain to this knowledge ; and in the mean time be content with your present conditions, and with that measure of knowledge which God hath committed to every one of you ; for every one is accepted, as they are faithful to God, in that light and grace which God hath freely given to them. And it is a good thing to know God truly and experimentally in any dispensation,—to know God (or the operation of his Spirit,) as a fire,—this is good ; for all who are truly acquainted with God, must know him as a consuming fire, before they

know him as he is love; "For our God is a consuming fire," as it is written of him;—a fire to consume and burn all wickedness and sinful lusts, which have been harboured and lodged in the heart: that so the heart may be purified by the spirit of judgment and burning, and sanctified and made fit for the Father's use. For as it hath pleased God, so far to condescend and come down as to dwell in men, and to put his heavenly treasure in earthen vessels; yet he doth not dwell where sin and corruption dwells; neither doth he put his precious heavenly treasure in a filthy unclean vessel; but first the vessel must be cleansed, the heart purified, by the living word of God: for the word of God is powerful and precious, and doth work powerfully in the hearts of all that do with meekness and patience receive it. It is as a fire to burn up all corruption, both of flesh and spirit; it is also as a hammer to beat down sin in its rise and conception: when evil appears or rises in the heart, then keep the hammer going, (the word of God,) to hammer it down within on the first motion, before it break forth into words, or open actions. Blessed are they that feel in themselves the operation of the word of God, to purify and cleanse them, and who obey the gospel in truth of heart; that God may delight to do them good. And you, my dear Friends, that have tasted of the word of God, and are truly sensible of a good work of reformation begun in you,—in patience possess your souls: wait upon God, and faint not; neither be ye discouraged, because of the many trials and temptations that ye endure; but sow to the Spirit, and in good time ye shall reap the good fruits of righteousness.

Be not ye shaken in mind, nor tossed to and fro

with men's doctrines, which are changeable; but all dwell and abide in the unchangeable light, and let your faith stand in the power of God : and then ye will stand sure and stedfast, upon the sure foundation of God, which he hath laid, and not man; and as ye are staid there, nothing can move you, nor harm you, nor make you afraid. The word of God is nigh you, even in your hearts, and in your mouths, to obey it;—O ! let it dwell and abide in you, and it will keep you from corruption, and from all evil that abounds in the world.

So, dear Friends, as a people redeemed to God, see that ye walk blameless and harmless in the midst of this perverse generation ; that ye may be a good savour to God amongst them, that the Lord God of life may be glorified in and amongst you. Be patient, be humble, and of a gentle, sweet carriage towards all, so far as ye may without offence to God or his dear children ; and above all things, live in peace and love among yourselves. And the God of peace fill you with his peace and love and heavenly wisdom, and establish you in the Truth ; that you may live and die to his honour and glory, who hath called and loved you ;—who is God over all, blessed for ever.

This is written in the bowels of love unto you all, by your dear brother, a prisoner for the testimony of Jesus, in the common gaol at West Chester.

Alexander Parker.

[*From the Original.*]

No. CXXVI.

RICHARD FARNSWORTH TO FRIENDS.

Stanley, 11th of October [8th month.]

DEAR FRIENDS,

MY endeared love to you all in the Lord Jesus Christ:—my love runneth forth toward you, desiring that the Lord would stablish your hearts in Him; who is the fountain of living mercies. Wait on Him, and meet often together; and take heed of forming any thing of self. Stand always in the counsel of the Lord; and give up wholly to Him, to be guided by him. Submit to his will in all things, and every condition will be good, seeing the Lord always present in it. Take heed to yourselves, lest any deceit get in amongst you; for the adversary is very busy, and goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour: and when the Lord is most manifesting himself amongst his people, then the devil doth most bestir himself.

There is a true work amongst you; but take heed, I beseech you for the Lord's sake, that deceit does not mix with it.—Give not liberty to your own wills, but stand in the will of the Lord, and let patience have its perfect work among you.—And you shall find Him a merciful Father; and he will deal with you in tenderness and compassion.—Take heed of doing any thing by imitation as from others; but all mind your own conditions, and to be kept in the cross, the pure light guiding your minds; it will cross your own wills in all things, and will suffer you to conform to nothing but that which is pure;

and so you will be kept always in the fear of Him who is pure : and his pure fear will preserve and keep your minds close and pure, and open to the Lord to receive his teaching,—for the teaching of the Lord is in silence. And wait patiently upon Him, and give up yourselves wholly unto Him, to be acted upon and guided by Him ; and He will keep self under the cross, that it cannot act ; and so you will be led by the Lord gently on your journey up to the land of living mercies, where you shall find rest to your souls, even in the everlasting fountain of love.

—Dwell in the pure wisdom, and it will teach you what to do in all things. Walk in the light, and there will be no occasion of stumbling and falling : but being disobedient to the light, then there is stumbling and falling down.—Every one mind your own condition and your growth daily : press forward in the straight way, and so be kept in the cross, that keeps humble and lowly :—and being kept in the cross, it will bring you to lay aside every weight and burden, and to run with patience the race that is set before you ; that you may so run as to obtain the crown.

O ! dear Friends, let patience possess your souls, and it will keep you always in a sense of your condition. The Lord keep you, and establish you, that you may grow daily more and more into the everlasting Truth, and bring forth fruit to the praise and glory of God ; that He in all things may be glorified by you : to whom be glory and honour and everlasting praises for ever and ever. Amen !

All Friends here are well, praised be the Lord,—and desire to be remembered to you all. My dear love to you all,—farewell ; and the God of love and

power keep you in the everlasting power of his love, and in the everlasting power of his Truth; that you may reign as kings upon the earth.

I shall see you again, when my Father pleaseth.

Richard Farnsworth.

No. CXXVII.

THOMAS SALTHOUSE TO FRIENDS.

*An affectionate salutation of fervent love, and a tender visitation to all the people of God called Quakers, at this day oppressed and persecuted for their obedience to the commands of Christ Jesus, the King of Righteousness, and Prince of Peace.**

12th Month, 1660, [2nd mo. 1661.]

BELoved Brethren and Sisters, fellow-sufferers and companions in tribulation and persecutions, which is your portion and heritage at this day in this present world,—my heart is open,—and my dear unfeigned love flows forth abundantly unto every particular [individual] of you, in every desert, den, and cabin, to which many of you are by constraint confined, for your obedience to the commands of Christ, the Prince of our peace,—and for your resolutions to follow the Captain of your salvation,

* This and the next Epistle from John Whitehead were addressed to Friends, at about the commencement of their very severe persecutions in Charles II.'s reign.

with the loss of your liberty, the hazard of your estates, and the peril of your lives, in these last days and trying troublesome times. O! my dearly beloved, whom the Lord hath called and chosen out of the evil of the world, and redeemed from the earth, to serve him acceptably, and to worship him in the Spirit; unto whom it is given in the behalf of Christ Jesus, not only to believe, but also to suffer affliction and persecution, —what can I communicate unto you, that may augment your consolation in this day of trial and hour of temptation? You have the evidence with you, and in you, that the Lord is your portion, and the rock of your salvation; and He that comforteth his people in all their tribulations, is acquainted with your grief; in all your afflictions he is afflicted with you; and whosoever offends you for your religion and righteousness' sake, sinneth against his own soul, and resisteth his Maker,—against whom no man can prevail. He that persecuteth you, persecuteth your Head; he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eye.————

My dear brethren and Friends in the Truth, who are now constrained to have your habitation as in the tents of Kedar, amongst the sons of Ishmael and Belial, and whose lot, for a little season, is to be amongst the pots, and to sit as by the rivers of Babylon, in outward bondage and captivity,—think it not strange concerning these fiery trials, as if an unexpected or strange thing had accidentally happened unto you: for this day of trial of your faith, patience, and principles, is very precious, and the Lord's end in it is good, and will so appear to be; and in an acceptable time, will he appear for the salvation of his oppressed people, whose sighs and groans, prayers

and tears are heard and regarded by him.———
For he brought you not out of the house of darkness and land of Egypt, to slay you in the wilderness, nor to make you a prey to the uncircumcised, if you obey his voice, and abide in his counsel, and walk in his light, as a people saved by him. Wherefore, my dear Friends, let patience have its perfect work; and remember the Lord's former mercies and wonderful deliverances, and consider that his hand is not at all shortened, that he cannot save and deliver you out of the deepest den and dungeon, where you lie as among the lions in this the day of Jacob's troubles. Lift up your voice, and cry out of the deep, with one accord and consent unto Him, who hath not at any time said unto the house of Israel, "Seek my face in vain:" and my spirit with yours and our prayers will meet at the throne of grace, in the presence of your Father and my Father; who hath respect unto his covenant, and will save his afflicted people, and bring forth the prisoners out of the prison houses, that they may shew themselves in the land of the living. In the meantime, suffer patiently, without murmuring and repining, and wait to have your weak hands and feeble knees strengthened to endure hardships, as good soldiers of Jesus Christ; and look unto Him, the author and finisher of your holy faith, (who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross and despised the shame;) that all the sufferings of these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, may be endured, as seeing Him that is invisible: be faithful unto death, that you may be crowned with eternal life.

And, Friends, you that are not as yet in bonds for Christ's sake, who are made as a gazing stock

with us, and confess the same Truth, and bear the burden of our bonds, as bound with us,—you are witnesses of the same sufferings, and for the same cause; and inasmuch as your hearts are open to visit the saints in prison, and communicate your cup of cold water to them that keep the commands of Christ Jesus,—the Lord will not exclude you out of the number of his jewels in that day, when he giveth a reward to the righteous, and a recompense to every man according to his work. Therefore, let none look upon themselves as members disjointed from the body, or as branches broken from the tree; and let none judge them that have liberty yet a little season given for a prey, for ends best known to Himself: for thus hath the Lord in his mercy, wisdom, and compassion ordered it, that there may not be a full end made of his heritage at once, but some are left at liberty to serve those that are under restraint, and by such a sudden surprisal are separated from nearest relations, outward habitations, ordinary employments, and all external privileges; which the law of God, and law of nations and nature allow to men as men, especially to men that fear God and work righteousness. And in this respect you are joined to us, and are one with us,—and we own you, and write unto you, and embrace you as companions and fellow-sufferers for the testimony of Jesus, and the word of God. By this do I particularly salute you in the Lord, exhorting and beseeching you, as in Christ's stead, to stand still and wait in patience with us, that you and we may see that salvation from God, which cannot be expected from the hills, nor from the mountains, nor from the arm of flesh. And, dear Friends, cast not away your confidence

in this cloudy day and hour of temptation : neither be ye afraid of him that can imprison, oppress, persecute, and kill your bodies ; but fear the God of heaven, and give glory to his name, and honour the King of nations ; and keep yourselves unspotted from the world, and your consciences void of offence, both in the sight of God, and in the presence of men. And if you suffer for well doing, and for righteousness sake, the Lord will comfort you in all your tribulations, and will plead with your adversaries, and reprove your oppressors, and vindicate your cause ; inasmuch as ye are innocent in all your sufferings, sustained under every government, since ye were a people, for the exercise of your religion, and the peace of your pure consciences. For the God of heaven knows, and the sons of them that do afflict you will know, that you are not in rebellion, nor in transgression in any particular, whereof you are suspected, accused, and judged at this day ; but the occasion that is taken against you and us, is chiefly concerning the law of our God, and the exercise of our religion.

Well, my dear brethren and sisters, I know the oppression is great under which you suffer, and your trials and travels are many in all the provinces and parts of this land of our nativity ; I am sensible of it, and my heart is affected therewith ; for many women are left as widows, and their children as orphans at this season : but the Creator of all things is a husband to the widow, a father to the fatherless ; and he is rich in mercy, large in loving-kindness and abundant in goodness and truth ; and his compassions never fail them that cast their care upon him, and put their trust in him : neither can we say that He is as a way-faring

man unto us, or a stranger that turns aside to tarry for a night and no more; for He hath fed us all our life long, and is the portion of our cup for ever, and the lifter up of our heads in this the day of our confinements.

And now, my dear Friends, by this you may know, that my dear brother J. Scafe and I have been under restraint near two months at this place; in which time the number of prisoners has increased, insomuch that we are near two hundred Friends in prison in this place, for no other cause but our obedience to the command of Christ Jesus, and for frequenting solemn meetings for the exercise of our religion; which we have both publicly and privately, as also in practice and principle, declared to be in obedience and subjection to the higher powers, and not in contempt of any person, power, or government appointed of God, for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well. And this is an addition to our rejoicing and consolation,—that we can call heaven and earth to record, and the Spirit of God bears witness with us and for us, that we know nothing on our parts as the original cause of our sufferings, but our principles and persuasion in matters of religion, and concerning the law and worship of our God. So that it is wholly for the name of Christ, and for righteousness sake, that we are called in question, and cast into prison at this day.

My dear brother and companion in tribulation, J. S., gives the remembrance of his unfeigned love to all Friends, where this is read and received; and the rest of my fellow prisoners dearly salute you. We are generally well, and well content to suffer for righteousness sake; and the peace and

presence of the Lord is in our habitations : to whom you are all committed, as unto a faithful Creator, by him that is your dear brother and fellow-servant in persecutions and tribulations, at liberty or in bonds.

T. Salthouse.

Ilchester, 23rd of 12th month, 1660,

[2nd mo. 1661.]

[*From the Original.*]

No. CXXVIII.

JOHN WHITEHEAD TO FRIENDS.

Aylesbury Prison, 12th month, 1660,

[2nd mo.] 1661.

DEAR FRIENDS, both sons and daughters, amongst whom I have travailed, that you might be gathered in the everlasting covenant of light and life, to feed by the Shepherd's tent, amongst the sheep of His pasture and lambs of His fold. When I——consider that by departing from iniquity, ye are become a prey to all the beasts of the field, who gather themselves together to rend and to devour you ;—how do my bowels yearn towards you, and my heart doth melt into tenderness with the love and life that is shed abroad in it unto you : in which life my soul is often poured out in silence before the Lord, (who knows how to deliver his little ones, who have put their trust in him,) that you may be kept together in one mind and spirit, and have your hearts established with grace [upon Him,] who is the only

begotten of the Father.———Hold fast your confidence in the word of his patience, and in the living hope stand fast and immovable upon the spiritual Rock, that you may not be shaken : for now the storms, tempests, and floods are come, that the hearer may be known from the doer, and the false from the wise builders. Therefore, let not the upright in heart be troubled, though some shake and fall, and are by the floods swept away ; but rather rejoice, in that they which are approved shall be made manifest, and their righteousness which God hath given them, shine forth as the stars of the morning : yea, blessed shall they be that overcome ; for they shall be as pillars in God's house, which he is building and will finish of tried and lively stones, that he may dwell in it for ever. Be not discouraged at the raging of the sea, neither dismayed at the tumult of the people : for the Lord your God is with you to deliver you, whether in life or death. O! then, stand wholly given up unto his will ; and wait upon Him for strength and patience to lay down your own lives, if nothing but that or the transgression of the law of your God may satisfy them that persecute you ; for better is it to fall into the hands of man for transgressing their law, than to fall into the hands of God for wilful transgression of His law : for you know man can only kill the body and no more ; but God, after he hath killed the body, hath power to cast into hell. These things I write to remind you of God's power ; that you may both trust, fear and love him, whose glory is arising upon you, and shall more abundantly appear in you, whose minds are staid upon him ; who in mercy hath called you, and chosen you to follow the Lamb, who shall have the victory. Therefore, fear not to go through any suffering for

his name sake ; because he hath the words of eternal life ; by him your souls may be everlastingly satisfied and refreshed. And what if God suffer your bodies to be broken, and turned to the ground whence they were taken,—that shall not prevent us from partaking of the glory that shall be revealed. And let not any look out with the wrong eye, to search when shall be the end of these things ; for a thousand years with the Lord are but as one day, and his long-suffering is great.—Let all whose minds are turned towards God, keep out of the reasoning, which draws back into self-safety ; lest thereby the nobility of your minds be clouded, and the plants choked, whose growth is but little in the Truth : but stand in God's fear, and mind his witness in your consciences, and join not to anything against that, and it will preserve you, though your strength be small.

And, dear brethren, whose portion is larger, remember that more is required of you, and according to your ability improve your talent in strengthening the weak, and considering the feeble minded ; and though you cannot give the oil of your lamps unto the foolish, having need for it all yourselves ; yet tell them in time where they may buy it without money or price, that they may be prepared to meet the bridegroom, whose day is at hand. And if there be any amongst you who do not wickedly depart from God, but through weakness or violent temptations are ensnared by the enemy, then you whom God doth preserve and strengthen, reach forth your hands to help out of the jaws of the devourer : then shall the soul that is saved from death bless you, and the Lord will requite you in the day of your need. And see that you be inwardly armed ;—for he that goes to war against principalities, powers,

and the rulers of the darkness of this world in another armour, which he hath not proved to be spiritual, nor hath inwardly received it from God in the light, he shall not overcome. Now all lies at stake ; and whosoever doth fly, before the victory be obtained, loseth what he hath wrought, and makes himself a scorn to fools. Therefore let neither death, banishment, peril, sword, hunger or nakedness, neither any other thing, whether present or to come, cause you to fly from the Truth ; but in all conditions cleave unto it, and it shall preserve you.

And ye that have of this world's goods, let the bowels of your compassion be open to your poor brethren ; and order that which God hath made you stewards of in his wisdom, for their and your own relief, before it become a prey to the spoilers : and let tender love and mercy, as you have received it from the Lord, abound in you one to another. Live in the one Spirit of the Lord, that in it you may have unity and peace with God, and one with another : and bear one another's burdens, and suffer one for another, as Christ suffered for the body's sake, leaving to us an example ; which God hath counted me worthy to follow, who am amongst many brethren a sufferer for the testimony of his Truth. Let not your hearts be troubled but rather encouraged by my bonds, in which I have peace with God ; and though I should see your faces no more, I am joined with you in a perpetual covenant, and the remembrance of you is sweet to me. My life saluteth you every one with true inward breathings ; that under the shadow of the Almighty ye may be preserved, and by his right hand upheld, until the tempest be over :—that thou, O ! Zion, in thy beauty may arise ; and the Lord, thy light and

glory, be in the midst of thee, as the sun from under a thick cloud ;—that men may see Him whom they have pierced, and the desire of nations be towards Him ; and the people that dwell therein may walk with us in the light of the Lord ;—that blessing and peace may fill the whole earth, and nation not lift up sword against nation, neither learn war or persecution any more. Amen, Amen !

And you that be at liberty in the outward, give up yourselves to serve the Lord in the morning of life ; and visit your brethren that be in bonds for the Lord's sake ; so will the Lord take it as done to himself, and give you a reward in the resurrection of the just. And keep your meetings as you see most expedient, in the light of the Lord, and in his fear, out of the fear of man ; and be fervent in waiting upon God, that a double portion of his Spirit and power may be upon both sons and daughters, old men and babes ;—in whose mouths, O Lord God Almighty ! ordain them strength to bring to nought the wisdom of the wise, and to drive backward the counsel of the ungodly ; that the fold of thy lambs may be preserved entire : and let thy life and virtue be unto them a fresh pasture, and open thyself amongst them, O thou fountain of living waters ! —that the thirsty amongst thy people may be satisfied ; and fill their hearts with thy love, that therewith they may love their enemies ;—that thy witness may arise in them, and clear the innocency of thy own people :—for we have fled unto thee for refuge, and can use no other weapon to plead our cause but the words of thy mouth.

John Whitehead.

*Written in the prison house
in Aylesbury, the 2nd of
12th month, 1660.*

This to go amongst Friends, to be read when they are met together in the fear of God, with understanding ; and likewise to be sent to the prisons, to be read amongst Friends which suffer for Truth's sake. Fail not to communicate it one to another.

[*From the original.*]

No. CXXIX.

WILLIAM BENNET TO FRIENDS.

Bury Gaol, 6th month, [8th mo.] 1668.

DEARLY beloved Friends, brethren and sisters in the Truth,—you whom the mighty God of power once found as in a desert land, and in a waste howling wilderness, sticking fast in the mire of your own corruption, without help of your own ;—and there still had been, till this day, had not the Lord God of infinite power, of love and compassion, helped us, in great mercy to our immortal souls : He freely reached forth the strong arm of his salvation to us, who without the help thereof, must have perished in our sins eternally. He brought us out of the horrible pit of ignorance and darkness, of sin and iniquity ; and has set our feet upon the rock of ages, Christ Jesus—the sure foundation, which can never be removed ;—praises and glory to our God for ever ! who hath freely done much for our souls,—even that work hath he done for us, which we without him, or none besides him, could ever do : he awakened us that were asleep

in sin, and quickened us that were dead in trespasses, and raised us up that were buried in the grave of iniquity, and said unto us that were dead—live. He gave light to us that were in darkness, and unto us that were in the region and shadow of death, did his blessed dayspring from on high, shine in our habitations;—glory to our God for ever! He hath washed us, cleansed and sanctified us in measure, through his eternal Truth;—"His word is Truth,"—which we have felt and known, like to a fire, sword and hammer, working mightily in and upon our hearts, to the mortifying, subduing, and destroying of the power of darkness:—whose day of glad tidings, and of redemption to his seed, and of destruction to his enemies, did burn as an oven; in which the wicked one, and he that did wickedly, was as stubble and straw. We knew a fire kindled in the earth of our hearts, and a great desolation the Lord brought upon us; and then did the tribes of the earth mourn, and our heavens were shaken, and our fig-leaf garments rent, and our nakedness appeared, and nothing of our own was able to cover our shame. O! blessed be the Lord, who stripped us of our own, and made us bare, that he might clothe us with his light. He broke us in pieces, that He by his power might bind us up in the bundle of life; he wounded us, because of sin, by the sword of his righteous judgment, that he might heal us with the medicine of his mercy; and by his light and Spirit he gave us to see the sinfulness of our state, in which we were, when he first found us; under the sense whereof we groaned, desiring deliverance therefrom. He, through the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, hath cleansed us, who were unclean; and hath made

us his people, who once were not his people; and hath brought us nigh unto himself, who were afar off. He sought us that were lost, and brought us back again, who were driven from him by the enemy of our souls.

O! dearly beloved ones, what manner of love is this, which the Lord, our tender God, hath manifested to us! whose love and goodness, appeared to us-ward, whilst we were enemies in our minds against him, burthening and oppressing his pure seed in our own hearts. O! dear Friends that the sense of his love, goodness, and mercy, showed to us, may even daily break, melt, and humble our hearts before him; and even be an obligation upon every particular one to engage us and oblige us, to be faithful and obedient unto the Lord, in our particular places; to walk answerable to his great love, infinite mercy, and rich grace, bestowed upon us. O! the Lord stir up our hearts to watchfulness, and in the light to pray, and to war against the enemy of our souls; and know God's salvation to be as walls and bulwarks to us in the hour of temptation: that when the enemy entices any of us, with the glory, honour, riches, pleasures, and delights, of this world, or with any thing below, that would take away our hearts from the Lord and his truth, we may not be overcome by him; but rather overcome him, and his temptations, through the Lord; who will strengthen all those that cleave unto him and diligently wait upon him.

Therefore wait, and rely upon him, thou tender one, —who in the sense of thy own inability, art ready to cry in thy heart to the Lord,—Lord let nothing ever separate me from thee!—O! let nothing steal away my heart from thee!—O! that I may never

forget thy love, or be unmindful of thy mercies, or slight thy Truth and people!—Let thy Truth never become an old thing to me; but O! that it may be as near and dear unto me as ever it was! O! Lord, whoever slights thy truth, and forsakes the assemblies of thy people,—whoever turns to their old lovers, and descends downward toward the earth again, and wheels about on their old centre,—whoever grows wanton and vain, careless and negligent,—who ever grows cold and dead, dry and barren,—Lord, do thou keep me, and preserve me, who without thee am poor, weak, and feeble; and enable me to hold out to the end: for alas! what good will talking of former experiences do to me, and of what I have formerly enjoyed of thee, received of thee, or done or suffered for thee, in that day when my heart was tender, honest, and upright before thee, if I should now forget thee, and let the world again take away my heart from thee,—and the earth again eat up my mind, and bury thy righteous seed; O! then my talking of thee, and of my former experiences and profession of thy way, truth and worship, will stand me in no stead; for if I faint by the way, and turn back again into Egypt, I shall then lose the reward, which they have, that abide to the end. Wherefore, O Lord God Almighty! in a true sense of my own danger, and in a sense of what hath happened to some, whom I once thought might have stood, and retained their integrity, I cry unto thee;—desiring daily to wait upon thee, to feel the supporting, upholding, preserving power of thy grace, to keep me low, meek, and humble, and watchful; that so I may retain my integrity, and hold fast my first love, and be enabled through thy power,

to finish my testimony for thee in faithfulness with joy, to thy glory and praise, O my God! O! this is the frame of the innocent, honest, tender-hearted ones, that love the Lord and his truth more than all. O! that in this frame of mind we all may be kept, saith my soul; which cries,—“ Lord, not glory, honour, riches, and pleasure, in this world; but grace, truth, mercy, and peace, unto the end of my days !”

Dearly beloved Friends, unto the Lord I commit you, who right well knoweth how it is with every particular [individual;] unto whom is the cry of my soul for your good welfare and preservation in his Truth, which never changeth, though some change and turn from it. But Truth is the same, and those that abide therein, are of one heart, of one mind and spirit, and have unity and fellowship therein with the Lord, and one with another; and therein I desire our unity may be continued, and abound more and more; and that which would hinder and break unity in the Truth among brethren, may be wrought out and kept out, through unfeigned love of God in all your hearts: whose love I desire may abound more and more, in and among you; that all those things of a contrary nature, which tend to strife, debate, division, rents, confusion, may be thrown down, and kept under foot, and shut out from among us: that so the love, power, and truth of the Lord, and our unity therein, may flourish over all.

And, dear Friends, keep your meetings in the fear and name of the living God; and be very diligent in waiting upon him in his gifts: give not leave for your minds to wander, and none to give way to drowsiness and sleeping in meetings; for,

surely, it is even a shame to us that the thing, to wit, sleeping in the assemblies of the saints, should be found among any of us : truly, Friends, the very thing oftentimes greatly burdens the seed of God in the hearts of many of his children :—wherefore, watch and war against it, and wait to feel life in yourselves, to quicken both soul and body, in the work, worship and service of the living God ; that a living sacrifice from his own Spirit we may offer unto him. For his worship is a living worship, and performed in and by his living Spirit ; in which let us wait diligently upon the Lord, and a preparation we shall witness thereby ; and feel and enjoy his presence, and be edified, enlivened, and warmed thereby, though no words be heard amongst us.

So, dear Friends, bear with me, and receive in love this my salutation in love to you, who am one that loveth Zion, and travaileth in spirit for her prosperity. And my dear and tender love is to all those who love the Lord ; and my soul reacheth unto the honest and upright in heart, and the remembrance of you dear ones maketh glad my heart. Though I am confined and separated from you in body, yet, verily, I am often with you in spirit ; and then my soul embraceth you, and sympathizes with you in your trials, straits, troubles, and tribulation ; all which I desire the Lord God everlasting, may carry you through, and lift up your heads in his name. And the Lord comfort the mourning ones among you, and heal the wounded, and bind up the broken in heart ; and lift up the weak hands that hang down, and confirm the feeble knees, and cause the halting to go upright, and leap over all the mountains of the enemy : that those that have lain mourning in the

pits of distrust, fears, doubting, carnal reasonings, may mount over all upon the wings of faith, and flow to the goodness of the Lord, and eat of His house and drink of the river of His pleasures, and be satisfied;—and bless, praise, and magnify the Lord in the land of the living.

So the Lord God everlasting be with you, and the Almighty Jehovah defend you;—and the everlasting arm of His power uphold you over all, and carry you through all which you yet may meet with, within or without;—and strengthen the weak and little ones among you. O! Friends, our trials are not yet all over, though we have already waded and travelled through much, in the strength and fear of the Lord. Wherefore, dearly beloved ones, let us watch and pray, and wait daily upon the Lord, to be fitted for trials when they come; and that we may stand in the terrible storm, and be like mount Zion, which can never be moved. Good it is for us to watch, to take heed against wrong security, and getting into a false ease, because it is at present a calm; lest thereby we provoke the Lord to anger, and so induce him to suffer a storm again, before we be aware. O! let us not sin; because grace, mercy, and many benefits from God to us abound; lest the Lord turn his mercies into judgments. O! let us watch, and be sober; and hope to the end,—having grace whereby we may serve God acceptably, with reverence and godly fear:—our words being few and savoury, and our lives and conversations blameless and unreprouable; walking as become saints of the Most High God; shining as lights in the life of righteousness, in the midst of a dark, crooked, and perverse generation. And be ye all followers of Christ the light, who is the

captain of our salvation; and walk, as you have those for an example, who fully follow Christ. But follow not the steps of those that walk disorderly, neither have fellowship with them in any unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them; who cause the Truth to suffer, and those that live in it to be evil spoken of; who are enemies to the cross of Christ, though professing him in words: whose god is their belly, whose glory is their shame, who mind earthly things, and serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own lusts; whose end is destruction, except they repent. But, dear Friends, let your conversation be in heaven, and yet preach righteousness in the earth; that the Lord may be glorified through us; who hath raised us up a people to live to his honour, and to show forth the praise of Him, who hath called us out of darkness, to walk in his marvellous light.

The God of peace and consolation accompany them, and settle, and stay them upon himself,—and bind them up in his Truth, and cause them to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord and Saviour; to whom be all glory, praises, and dominion, world without end. Amen.

From your true friend and companion in the patience and tribulation of Jesus, who has you often in his remembrance; and though close shut up in prison, yet his love reacheth to you all, and remains with you. Farewell! dear Friends, farewell!

William Bennit.

*Bury common gaol, the
2nd of 6th month,
[8th mo.] 1668.*

CXXX.

STEPHEN CRISP TO BENJAMIN BANGS.

Colchester, 10th of 4th month [6th mo.] 1682.

DEAR B. B.

MY dear love in the Truth salutes thee.——

I was greatly satisfied in my journey, chiefly that I found a life up amongst Friends that can suffer; and I am sure it is that, which will reign and conquer in the end; and thence will be the safety of us all,—to follow our Captain in suffering and tribulation, having an eye to the recompense of reward. For that which can talk and not walk, and can profess and not suffer, is not the heir, nor must be respected as the heir: for all respect shown to that birth, puffeth it up; but the true birth is low in heart. So dear heart, dwell in that which gives a discerning of every sort and kind; that thou may deal out the bread to the children, and the rod to the fool,—for these have their distinct ministry: and every right ministry springs from the gift, and the gift is from God,—the Giver and the gift is perfect: and as long as the minister is ordered in and by His gift, and takes not the ordering of it into his own hands,—his work is perfect, and tends to the glory of the Giver, and the edification of his church: such carry their reward with them, and shew themselves approved in God's sight, and in His people's.

So now, my dear Benjamin Bangs, I love thee,—

therefore I write this to thee; heartily praying for thy preservation and prosperity in the work of the Lord, and shall be glad to hear from thee.

I rest, and remain, thy true and real friend and well-wisher,

S. C.

[*From a Copy.*]

No. CXXXI.

[THE following short essay by William Penn, written out and signed by himself on a plain half-sheet of paper, was probably composed, like his maxims, as a detached reflection:—the Editor has not found it in print.]

He is a wise and a good man too, that knows his original and end; and answers it by a life that is adequate and corresponds therewith. There is no creature fallen so much below this as man; and that will augment his trouble in the day of account,—for he is an accountable creature. I pray God his Maker, to awaken him to a just consideration thereof; that he may find forgiveness of God his Maker and Judge.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to read 'Wm Penn'. The signature is written in a cursive style with long, sweeping strokes.

CXXXII.

ISAAC PENNINGTON TO HIS CHILDREN.

*For my dear Children J. J. and M. P.**10th of 3rd month [5th mo.] 1667.*

MY DEAR CHILDREN,

Two things I especially desire in reference to your learning;—one is, that ye may learn to know and hearken to the voice of God's witness in you. There is somewhat in you, which will teach you how to do well, and how to avoid the evil, if your minds be turned to it. And the same thing will witness to you, when ye do well,—and against you, when ye do evil. Now to learn to know this, to hear this, to fear this, to obey this, *that* is the chief piece of learning that I desire to find you in. And your master or any one of the family that turns you to the witness, reminds you of the witness, reproves you for not hearkening to or obeying the witness, O! love them, and bless God for them in that respect: and remember this, that he that hearkens to reproof is wise, but he that hates or slights it is brutish. That is the dark spirit, which would please itself in its dark ways, and therefore loves not the light which makes them manifest and reproves them; and that spirit is the brutish spirit,—which hates the reproof of the light, and would continue its vain foolish ways and delights, which the light testifies against;—that spirit therefore debaseth man. Therefore mind the witness which discovers these things to you, and leads you out of them, as ye hearken to it, and come to know, fear and love the Lord

God, by its instruction and testimony. The way of youth is vain, and foolish, and defiles the mind : O ! my children, wait for the cleansing,—watch to that which cleanseth the foolish way of children, which is that which discovers and witnesses against your foolishness and vain tempers, and the temptations of your minds, and leads out of them. Learn to bear the yoke in your tender years. There is a vain mind in you—there is somewhat which would be feeding and pleasing that vain mind ; and there is somewhat near you, appointed by God to yoke it down. O ! give not scope to vanity, it will be an occasion of woe and misery to you hereafter. But the yoke which keeps under the vain mind, O ! take that yoke upon you : and then ye shall become not only my children, but the disciples of Christ, and children of the Most High. This is the first thing, which I mainly and chiefly desire you should apply yourselves to learn.

The next thing is, (which will also flow from the first,)—that ye learn how to behave yourselves as good children, both in the family and to persons abroad, in a meek, modest, humble, gentle, loving, tender, respectful way,—avoiding all rude, rough, bold, unbecoming carriage towards all ; honouring your mother and me, as God teaches and requires ; dearly cleaving to one another in the natural relation, which is of God, wherein ye are loved, [having] even a great proportion of natural affection and kindness one to another.——So to the servants, carry yourselves very lovingly, sweetly, meekly, gently ; that none may have any cause of complaint against you, but that all may see your lowliness, and be drawn to love you. And to strangers, carry yourselves warily, respectfully, in a sober, submissive, humble

manner of demeanour; not disputing and talking, which becomes not your age and place; but watching what ye may observe of good in them, and what ye may learn of those that are good, and how ye may avoid any such evil, as ye observe in any that are evil. Thus your time will be spent in profit,—and ye will feel the blessing of God and of your parents, and be kept out of those evils, which your age and natural tempers are subject to, and which other children, who are not careful nor watchful, are commonly entangled in. Mind these things, my children, as ye will give an account to God, who through me thus instructs you,—who am your imprisoned father,—and have been much grieved when I hear of any ill concerning you,—it being more matter of trouble and sorrow to me, than my imprisonment, or any thing else I suffer, or can suffer from man.

Your father, who desires your good, and that it may go well with you, both here and hereafter.

J. P.

10th of 3rd Month, 1667.

And remember this one thing, which as a father I admonish you of, and charge you to take notice of and observe, which is this,—that ye do not fly out upon one another, or complain of one another, because of the evils ye observe in one another; but first take notice of that evil in yourselves: if by the true light ye find your own hearts cleansed from it, bless God who hath done it; and keep to his light and the testimony of his witness in you, whereby he did it; and watch that ye be not overtaken in it for the future. But if ye be guilty of the same evil,

or have lately done the same thing, or are liable suddenly to do it,—O! for shame! forbear accusing or blaming another: and in the fear of God wait on him, and pray unto him that ye may be delivered from it, and kept out of it. And then in tender pity, love and meekness, admonish thy brother or sister of his or her evil,—and watch to be helpful to preserve or restore them; and pray to God to direct thee how to be helpful to them. But that is the bad spirit and nature, (which God will sharply punish,) that is ready to accuse others: and though it be never so bad and guilty, yet will be excusing itself, and laying the fault upon others, or remembering some other fault of another, when it should be sensible of and ashamed of its own.

Dear children, if ye bend your minds to learn these things, the Lord will help you therein, and become your teacher, guide and preserver, and pour down his blessings upon you; and ye will be a comfort to me and your mother, and an honour to his Truth; and He also may give me wise fatherly instructions to teach you further. But if ye be careless, foolish, vain, following your own minds, and what riseth up there from the wicked one, ye will grieve my heart, and provoke God against you, to bring evil upon you, both in this world and for ever.

Therefore, children, mind that which is near you—the light of God, which discovers the evil and the good. His witness, which observes all ye do, is near you: yea, he himself is in that light, and with that witness. Therefore, know, ye are in his presence at all times; who is an holy and just God, hating that which is vain and evil, and loving that

which is good and right before him: and hath appointed a day and a set time, wherein he will either reward you with peace, joy, and eternal happiness, if ye have been good, and done that which is good;—or with misery, destruction, and unsufferable pain both of soul and body, if ye have been evil, and done that which is evil. And God takes notice how many instructions ye have heard from Friends in Truth, and from your parents; and how many meetings ye have been at, wherein ye have been taught and warned of these things: so that if ye turn your back upon his light, and will not hear its reproofs, but will be vain, and idle, and foolish, and rash, and quarrelling, and doing that which is naught, and then covering it with lies, and so be as bad, if not worse, than children who were never thus taught and instructed,—God will be exceeding angry with you; and may in his just judgment and sore displeasure, separate you from his light, give you up to the black, dark spirit, (from whom all this wickedness is,) to sow in sin here, and to suffer the flames of eternal fire hereafter;—which is his reward, and the reward of all who are persuaded by him to be of his nature, and who hearken to him, and let him work through them.

O! my children, mind the Truth of God in you; and that will let you see and understand the truth of what I now write,—and in what fatherly love and tender care of you, I write these things; that ye might be warned of the great danger of neglecting the time of your visitation by God's light and witness in you, and of going on in the evil ways of the dark crooked spirit, who will be tempting you to evil and hindering you from God, as long as ye

hearken to him. Therefore, be not fools, to be led by him to destruction, in the evil way and evil works, which lead thereto; but be wise to hearken to the light, and follow it, out of that which is evil, into every thing that is good,—to the salvation of your souls.

I desire that Friends in the family, watch over them in these respects; and when they find just occasion, to put them in mind of any of these things, in the fear and wisdom of God, with tenderness and gentleness, that they may reach the witness; but to take heed of upbraiding them, or aggravating any thing, lest they be thereby hardened, and the bad raised and strengthened in them. And, my dear G.* and Friends, watch over your hearts and ways, that ye may be as examples to them; that they may not only read these things from my writing, but in your carriage towards them, and one towards another; that they meet with nothing to strengthen or raise up the bad thing, but to reach the witness, and bring and keep down the evil in them. So the Lord bless your watchfulness, care, and endeavours therein; that I may hear good of them, and be comforted in the mercy and kindness of the Lord towards them.

* Doubtless his daughter in law, Gulielma, afterwards the wife of William Penn.

CXXXIII.

CHRISTIAN DISCIPLINE, OR CERTAIN GOOD AND WHOLESOME ORDERS, FOR THE WELL GOVERNING OF MY FAMILY IN A RIGHT CHRISTIAN CONVERSATION, AS BECOMETH THE CHILDREN OF THE LIGHT AND TRUTH OF THE MOST HIGH GOD. DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS. BY WILLIAM PENN.

“Now, therefore, fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and in truth; and put away the gods which your fathers served beyond the flood and in Egypt, and serve the Lord: and if it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom ye will serve; whether the gods which your fathers served (that were beyond the flood) or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell; but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.”

1.—As it becometh us, to whom is made known the only wise, invisible and omnipotent God, and that heavenly, spiritual worship, which only pleaseth Him,—always to retain Him in our knowledge with all due fear, godly reverence and sincere obedience; so more especially it is my appointment in the heavenly authority, as a Christian master of my family, that all in it, and of it, who profess the Truth with me, do meet and assemble every morning, with all humility and godly fear, to wait upon the Almighty God or Creator, and to receive and enjoy his living mercies and refreshing presence: that, being sanctified by Him, we may hallow His name, and return the praise which is due to him from men and angels for ever.

2.—That every day about the eleventh hour,

(unless diverted by extraordinary occasions, which is also intended and excepted of every time herein appointed,) all come together again ; and every one in his turn, read either the Scriptures of Truth or some martyrology.

3.—That the same practice be observed about the sixth hour in the evening ; to the end, that we may be stirred up to abhor the actions of evil doers, and to embrace and follow the example of patience, zeal, holiness and constancy in the righteous, who only were and are of the flock and family of God.

4.—That those days which are appointed to meet publicly to worship God upon, none on any pretence (being in health, and not unavoidably engaged to the contrary) neglect going to such meetings ;—but that they constantly and timely attend and frequent the same as becometh a family fearing the Lord, and that is zealous for his living Truth.

5.—That there be a watch kept over every mind, so as that it may not err from the counsel of God, and the weighty government of his holy truth, in whatsoever it is exercised about ; lest darkness and deadness come over it, and the evil one enter, to sow all manner of evil seeds, as strife, envy, evil watchings, levity, pride, and such like : the latter end of such is worse than their beginning.

6.—That every one keep out of unsavoury words, and that provoke to lightness, and which load the righteous witness in themselves and others.

7.—That none call each other bad names, nor give themselves to wrath or railing ; but if any thing of distance should happen, let none sleep upon it, nor the sun go down upon his or her wrath ; but

confess to each other, and seek peace and pursue it for it is well pleasing to God.

8.—That though every one may have appointed, a particular service, yet that all so live in the life of Christ Jesus, who washed his disciples' feet, as to be ready and willing to assist each other,—for that becometh brethren and fellow servants.

9.—That all drunkenness, lasciviousness, lying, defrauding, emulations, variance, back-biting, tale-bearing, swearing, cursing, taking the name of God or Christ in vain, pride, stubbornness, flattery, slothfulness, falseness, eye-service, or such like fruits of darkness, be not so much as named amongst you ; for you well know, that those who do such things cannot inherit the kingdom of God ; and I would have you know and be assured that, after due reproof, such shall not continue in my family.

10.—And as it becometh a Christian master and mistress to require nothing from servants that is not according to the righteous Truth of God, so they are keeping in their place, [when they require] that you all make it solemn matter of conscience before the Lord, to be upright, faithful and diligent towards them ;—not slighting them, because they are your brethren.

As I have so far acquitted my conscience, in expressing what was enjoined me of the Lord, to require from my family about those things which particularly relate to God's holy worship, and their christian duty and conversation,—so it is my desire to declare my mind in matters, though of lesser nature, yet necessary for the civil discipline of my family :—and that now follows, as proper to the second division or table of order.

1.—That the family rise every morning, from the first of the First month, till the first of the Third month, about the sixth hour in the morning ; and from the first of the Third month, to the first of the Seventh, about the fifth hour in the morning ; and from the first of the Seventh to the first of the Ninth month, about the sixth hour ; and from the Ninth to the first of the First month, about the seventh hour in the morning.

2.—That all come to breakfast about the ninth hour ; that all come to dinner about the twelfth hour ; that all come to supper about the seventh hour.

3.—That every one take it in their proper turns to knock or ring up all the rest, according to the several appointed times, in their respective seasons, whether to religious exercises, or meals, as they shall be ordered.

4.—That every servant, after supper, come and render to their master and mistress an account of what hath been done the same day, and receive respective instructions for the ensuing day.

5.—That every one in their turn, take care that all gates, and doors, be locked and bolted, and all fires and candles extinguished before they go to bed ; and that the men's care be in what belongs to the men, and the maids in what belongs to them.

6.—That all retire to bed about the tenth hour at night.

7.—And for preventing of all disorderly and troublesome noise in the family, it is enjoined upon all, to forbear loud discourses, and to go to the persons they have business with,—and not to bawl and loudly call after them, it being both offensive and unseemly.

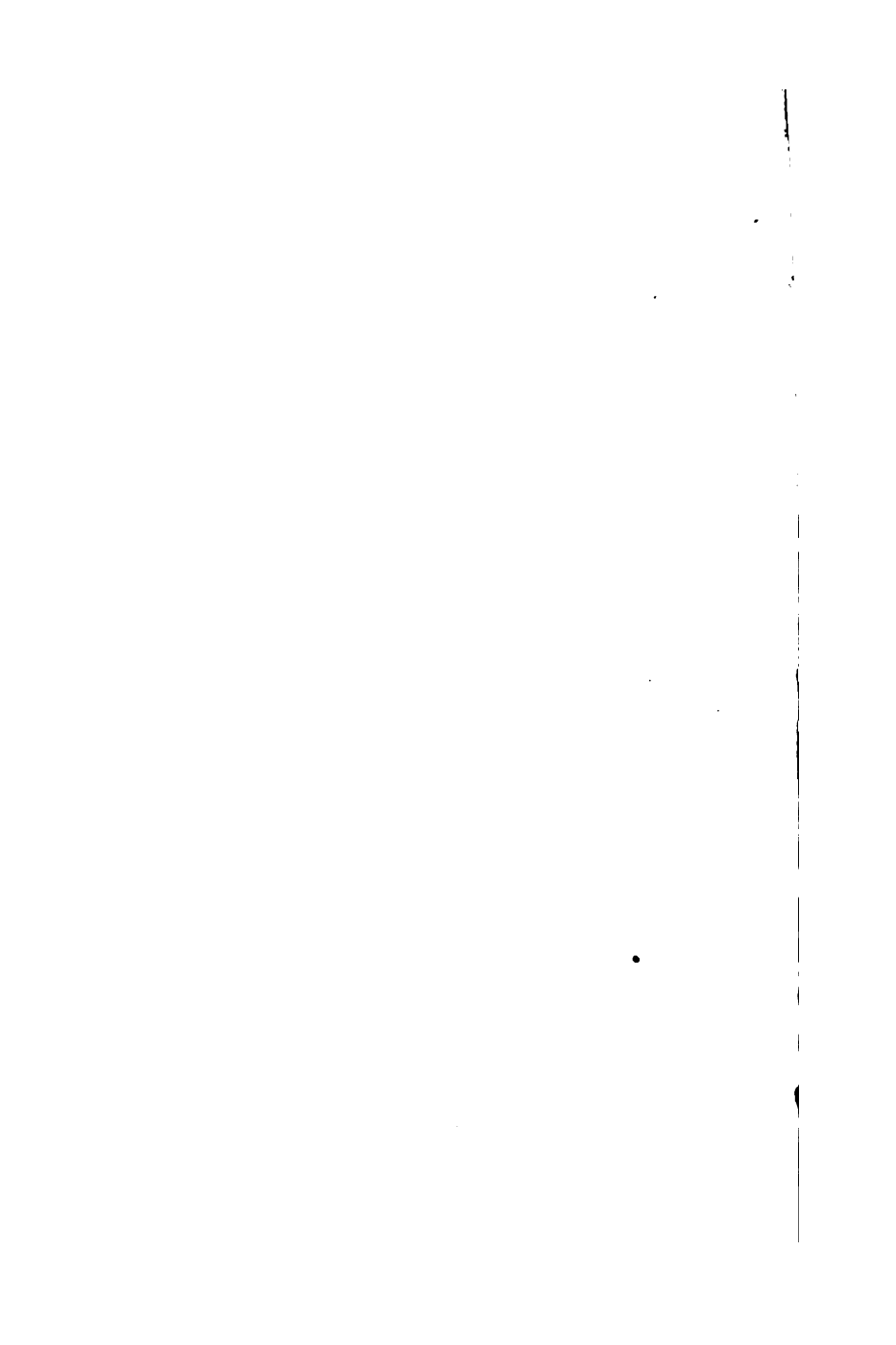
8.—That none go to any inn or other public-house in the town, but on business first known, and leave given.

9.—That none take the liberty of absenting themselves on any pretence, without leave first granted them, provided either master or mistress be at home, or such one as by them shall be appointed to oversee the family ; and that the concerns thereof, or of one another, be not divulged abroad, or made matter of public discourse.

10.—That when any one is sent of errands, they make no delay, neither enter into unprofitable talk ; but dispatch the business they are employed about, whether errands or otherwise, according to their respective orders and instructions : that all may be done, not with eye service, but as fearing the Lord, and making conscience of discharging their several trusts.

And,—“ whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are of good report ; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things ;” and the God of peace be with us.

William Penn.



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